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AREA PRESIDENTS TO SUPPORT CONTADORA EFFORTS

PY301134 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0143 GMT 30 Jul 85

[Text] Lima, 29 Jul (EFE) -- It was announced today in this city that the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay today placed themselves at the disposal of the Contadora Group, offering their copperation in any way possible. The information was released by a spokesman of Argentine Foreign Minister Dante Caputo and apparently is a result of the consultations among these governments during the past few days.

Peruvian President Alan Garcia, during his inaugural speech yesterday, called for the creation of a front of Latin American countries that would support the Contadora Group because Latin America's sovereignty, he said, is fighting for its life in Central America and Nicaragua.

CONTADORA EFFORTS, BORDER INCIDENTS LINKED

PA300347 Paris AFP in Spanish 2112 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Caracas, 29 Jul (AFP) -- Venezuelan Foreign Minister Simon Consalvi today said that the latest border incidents between Costa Rica and Nicaragua affect the peace process of the Contadora Group in that convulsive region. Following a meeting with the Social Democratic president of Venezuela, Jaime Lusinchi, the foreign minister told reporters: "There appears to be synchronization between the work of the peacemaking group and some incidents provoked mysteriously along the borders of the Central American nations." Consalvi added that whenever Contadora takes an important initiative, such as the one it took at the latest foreign ministers meeting in Panama, accidents and suspicious provocations seem to take place in the borders of some countries. Without specifically referring to any of the incidents, he said that he considers them all to be "efforts by the warring sectors of Central Amerida to disrupt the Contadora Group's efforts for peace in those countries."

Meanwhile, Consalvi reiterated that, as had been approved at the latest meeting in Panama, the deputy foreign ministers of the Group (Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela) will begin to carry out the tasks entrusted to them at the meeting.

CARTAGENA CONSENSUS MEETS IN PERU, DISCUSSES DEBT

PY292212 Paris AFP in Spanish 2017 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Lima, 29 Jul (AFP) -- Today in Lima, the foreign ministers and heads of mission of the 11 member countries of the Cartagena Consensus agreed to voice their concern over the international economic situation that places obstacles in the way of the adjustment programs currently under way, especially increasing their already high economic, social, and domestic political costs. The $350-billion foreign debt problem that is troubling the Latin American countries and is caused by the problems they have in amortizing it was the main subject of discussions during a 2-hour meeting held at the Bolivar Hotel in downtown Lima.

Venezuelan Foreign Minister Octavio Lepage [title as received] said that if the debtor countries are faced with deaf interlocutors, they must resort to their creativity, imagination, and political courage to force the deaf to listen.

Argentine Foreign Minister Dante Caputo said that the stability of the region is at stake, because the foreign debt problem affects our peoples' well-being and is also linked to the stability of all the countries.

During the meeting, the representatives also analyzed the answer given in Bonn by the presidents of the seven industrialized powers to a proposal of the Latin American governments regarding the foreign debt. This proposal asserted that this subject should be discussed within a North-South framework, at a bilateral level free of blocs. In a declaration, the representatives of the Cartagena Consensus mentioned the dramatic and persistent drop in prices and the region's terms of trade during the past few months as well as the increasing protectionist measures by industrialized countries as the main obstacle their countries are facing. They also mentioned the small influx of fresh capital to Latin America and the large outflow of Latin American resources to the international financial centers and the recessive effect this phenomenon has on the economies of the region.

The meeting was attended by foreign ministers, as well as other ministers and heads of missions from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, the Dominican Republic, and Venezuela. The Cartagena Consensus members, who had decided to call a meeting of foreign and finance ministers in August to discuss the problem and set the technical grounds for the dialogue started with the EEC, also decided to voice their solidarity with new Peruvian president, Social Democrat Alan Garcia. Upon assuming the Peruvian presidency yesterday, Garcia announced that his efforts will be focused on reactivating the economy and that he will only use 10 percent of Peruvian exports during the next 12 months to pay the country's foreign debt. He also stated that from now on Peru will negotiate directly with its creditors and that it will not include the IMF in these negotiations.

The representatives also agreed to instruct their diplomatic representatives before the United Nations in New York and Geneva to carry out consultations regarding the initiatives currently being discussed by that organization and compare them with the objectives and proposals of the Consensus. In addition to reviewing the progress made in their negotiations with the industrialized nations, the representatives also evaluated the negotiations with the IMF and the World Bank. The Consensus agreed to voice its satisfaction over the constructive dialogue maintained with the EEC and its determination to strengthen it. The members also voiced their appreciation for the understanding shown by French President Francois Mitterrand and former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for their demands.

ALFONSIN MEETS U.S., EEC OFFICIALS IN PERU

PY292038 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 0118 GMT 29 Jul 85

[By special correspondent Rainaldo Masetti]

[Text] Lima, 28 Jul (TELAM) -- The need for a closer dialogue between the North and the South and the agreements reached between Argentina and the IMF were the main topics at the meetings President Raul Alfonsin held this afternoon with U.S. Secretary of the Treasury James A. Baker and EEC Commissioner Claude Cheysson.

The Alfonsin-Baker meeting was held in the suite occupied by the Argentine president on the fourth floor of the Hotel Bolivar in this capital. It started at 1630 local time. The U.S. official came to the meeting accompanied by John Abrams, secretary for Latin American affairs, and Finance Under Secretary Thomas Mulsort. Alfonsin was accompanied by Foreign Minister Dante Caputo. The main topic of the meeting was the agreement reached between Argentina, the IMF, and the creditor banks. Baker praised the results achieved through the Argentine Government's anti-inflationary program in the first month since it was implemented. The U.S. official expressed satisfaction at the reduction during that month of the inflation rate in Argentina. Alfonsin, in turn, again stressed the need for opening a dialogue between Latin America and the industrialized countries in order to find a political solution for the payment of the region's foreign debt.

Alfonsin then received Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez Mercado. After 1800, former French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, now EEC commissioner for North-South relations, visited the Argentine president's suite. During his conversation with Alfonsin and Caputo, Cheysson also praised Argentina's economic reform efforts. The main subject of the talks with Cheysson were the measures to promote a fruitful dialogue between the countries of the Cartagena group and the EEC countries. The talks included the subject of the foreign debt and trade relations between Latin American and the EEC.

BRITISH INTERCEPT NAVY PLANE NEAR FALKLANDS

Communique Issued

PY262322 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2251 GMT 26 Jul 85

[Text] Buenos Aires, 26 Jul (TELAM) -- The Argentine Foreign Ministry tonight voiced serious concern over the interception of an Argentine plane by two British fighters near the Malvinas Islands and stressed that this sort of event is a potential threat to the peace and security of the region and not only violate the cessation of hostilities in effect in the area but also contradict statements by the British Government regarding its desire to reestablish trust between the two nations. This was stated in a communique released tonight. The text of the communique follows:

On 25 July 1985, while carrying out maritime traffic control, an Electra GP-102 plane of the Argentine Navy was intercepted for 12 minutes by two British Phantoms, registration No XV 420 and XV 495, between the following coordinates: from 52 degrees 12 minutes south and 63 degrees 50 minutes west to 51 degrees 53 minutes south and 65 degrees and 9 minutes west. As can be seen from the above, the intercepted airplane was flying within the 200 miles of Argentine jurisdiction and more than 15 miles from the outside limit of the illegitimate zone of protection which the British Government has unilaterally established around the Malvinas Islands. The British planes accompanied the Argentine plane for almost 30 miles outside the above-mentioned zone of protection.

The maintenance of the illegitimate so-called "zone of protection" and events akin to the mentioned here not only violate the cessation of hostilities in effect in the area but also contradict statements by the British Government regarding its desire to re-establish trust between the two nations. Furthermore, the Argentine Government voices its serious concern over events of this nature, for they constitute a potential threat to peace and security in the region. It is worth noting the key role which the base and the strategic military airport recently dedicated by Great Britain on the Malvinas Islands play in the performance of this sort of action.

Alfonsin, Caputo Comment

PY280014 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1548 GMT 27 Jul 85

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Jul (TELAM) -- President Raul Alfonsin has referred to the incident involving an Argentine plane which was intercepted by two British Phantoms outside the exclusion zone. He said that the south is now a focus of tension and a permanent danger. In turn, Foreign Minister Dante Caputo stated that the important thing is to stress that the incident occurred outside the exclusion zone unilaterally declared by the United Kingdom. President Alfonsin and the foreign minsiter made these statements just before leaving for Peru, where they will attend the inauguration of Peruvian President-elect Alan Garcia Perez.

In reply to a question on whether measures would be taken to prevent a repetition of this type of incident, Alfonsin answered: I believe that we will have to insist that the exclusion zone and the fortress that Britain has built in those islands should definitvely disappear. In brief statements made at El Palomar military airfield, Alfonsin reiterated that this is a constant topic in our talks, that Argentina has always brought it up at international meetings, and that it will do so now in the presence of all the presidents who will attend Alan Garcia's inauguration. The south is a focus of tension and a permanent danger, Alfonsin asserted, also stating that these matters will be thoroughly discussed.

Shortly before leaving, Argentine Foreign Minister Dante Caputo said that the Foreign Ministry communique clearly explained the incident in which the Argentine Navy plane was intercepted by two British military planes. Basically, the foreign minister said, I think the important thing is to stress that this incident occurred outside the exclusion zone unilaterally declared by the United Kingdom. He said: Our plane was clearly outside that area. Two Phantoms of the Royal Air Force approached it in an openly aggressive manner, although there was no reason to do this. He continued by saying that the British planes accompanied the Argentine plane for 12 minutes, covering 30 miles. The event occurred in the airspace over the Argentine economic zone, exactly 170 miles from Cabo Virgenes, he explained, adding: It is a clear violation of Argentine territory.

In turn, Vice President Victor Martinez, in charge of the executive branch, regarding the same subject stated that this is another of the abnormal acts which the UK Government is committing. This is another episode which worsens the situation instead of improving it, because this episode hinders the normal movements of our naval force which is fulfilling a very specific and concrete task. He added: This does not contribute anything to the dialogue we are promoting.

The ceremony of temporary power transfer was attended by Interior Minister Antonio Troccoli, Defense Minister Roque Carranza, Labor Minister Hugo Barrionuevo, Chamber of Deputies President Juan Carlos Pugliese, head of the Radical Bloc in the Chamber of Deputies Cesar Jaroslavsky, and other officials. The record of the ceremony was signed by Government House Notary Luis Bernaldo de Quiros.

Protest to UK

PY261558 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1529 GMT 26 Jul 85

[Text] Buenos Aires, 26 Jul (NA) -- Defense Minister Roque Carranza at noon today confirmed that Argentina will submit a protest note to Great Britain regarding the incident between an Argentine plane and two British fighter bombers. The minister said that it was an "unfortunate" incident in the situation that has been created between Argentina and Great Britain since the Malvinas war.

Letter to UN

PY291927 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 28 Jul 85 p 17

[Text] (DYN) -- Foreign Minister Dante Caputo yesterday said the government has formally protested the interception of an Argentine plane by two British jets before the United Nations. Caputo, before leaving with President Raul Alfonsin for Peru, said a letter similar to the ministry statement released on Friday had been sent to the UN. He added, though, that the letter contains "a bit more information" about the incident which occurred last Thursday. Caputo termed the interception "aggressive," adding that "There was no motive for it, much less for accompanying (the Argentine plane) for 12 minutes over a 30-mile path."

STAGE 2 OF AUSTRAL PLAN TO BE LAUNCHED 1 AUG

PY291929 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 28 Jul 85 p 17

[Text] (NA) -- Stage two of the austral plan will be launched next Thursday during a meeting between President Raul Alfonsin and representatives of top companies, according to a story published yesterday by the daily TIEMPO ARGENTINO. Economy Minister Juan Sourrouille and the secretaries of coordination, economic politics, and growth promotions are to attend the meeting. The new stage referred to involves mainly a series of measures aimed at reactivating the economy, although these were not specified by TIEMPO.

CENTRAL BANK ANNOUNCES DOLLAR DEPOSIT METHODS

PY291854 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 27 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] (NA-DYN) -- The Central Bank last night announced a new dollar deposit scheme with government guarantees. The minimum sum is to be 1,000 dollars and the total deposit must be divisible by 500. No withdrawals can be made within the first 60 days. The Central Bank gave no details as to what interest the new scheme would carry. The accounts will be certified by the Central Bank and the certificates may be transferred to third parties after a period of 30 days, thus providing the scheme with extra liquidity.

One aim of the scheme is apparently to provide banks with the means of offering loans to facilitate foreign trade.

REPORTAGE ON OUTCOME OF NATIONAL ELECTIONS

MNR Wins Control of Congress

PY291330 La Paz Cadena Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] The departmental electoral courts have concluded the vote count in La Paz and have ratified the victory of Hugo Banzer Suarez, the candidate of the Nationalist Democratic Action [ADN]. With the conclusion of the vote count in La Paz Department, one of the nine that was still not finished, the official vote count of the elections has ended. The results are as follows:

Hugo Banzer Suarez: 28.11 percent

Victor Paz Estenssoro of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement [MNR]: 26.66 percent

Jaime Paz Zamora of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left [MIR]: 8.86 percent

Roberto Jordan Pando of Nationalist Revolutionary Movement of the Left, MNRI: 5.03 percent.

The Nationalist Revolutionary Movement Vanguard Faction [MNR-V] of Carlos Serrate Reich: 4.20 percent.

The Socialist Party One [PS-1] of the late leader Marcelo Quiroga Santacruz won sixth place.

Paz Estenssoro's MNR has won the majority of senators in the new Congress, according to the results of the general vote count. According to the constitutional provision, the Senate is made up of 27 members, 3 per department. The party that wins first place in a given department has the right to two senators, while the party in second place gets one senator. The MNR will have 16 of the 27 senators; it won the elections in seven of the nine departments in the country and second place in two others.

The electoral results give General Hugo Banzer Suarez' ADN 10 seats in the Senate; it won the elections in two departments and second place in six others.

Jaime Paz Zamora's MIR has also won one seat in the Senate because it came in second in one of the departments.

According to the congressional organization, the presidency belongs to the MNR. Official spokesmen have stated that Senator-elect (Nuflo) Chavez Ortiz will be proposed for the Senate presidency. According to the law, if Congress fails to elect a new president by 6 August, the Senate president will assume the government. The MNR has stated that there are no problems in electing the Senate leaders and so there will be no need to delegate power to the Supreme Court president, as announced by President Hernan Siles Zuazo's government.

MNR leaders today stated that there is only one step to be taken between the interim government and the constitutionally elected president. The MNR national political committee has stated that Paz Estenssoro will certainly be the new president of Bolivia. It added that congressional consultations with other forces in this regard are at a very advanced stage.

As the official count is about to end, there is no doubt that Banzer won the 14 July elections, but by a very small margin. Victor Paz Estenssoro stated a few days before the elections that should Banzer obtain a 5-percent advantage in the elections, he was ready to admit his defeat. But the ADN has won 28.19 percent of the votes, according to the newspaper PRESENCIA, which is considered by political observers as the most reliable source in this matter, while the MNR has obtained 26.80 percent and the MIR 8.885 percent. The difference between the parties is very small, and so neither of them can be proclaimed president before a congressional decision. What matters now is the political support that each candidate can obtain in Congress.

The MNR's problem in Congress is no longer Banzer, but the last-minute positions adopted by some factions of the MNR. An impasse in this regard will favor the MNR even more. The impasse could be solved by the MIR whose vote could facilitate the election in Congress of either Victor Paz Estenssoro or Hugo Banzer Suarez.

ADN Followers Claim Fraud

PY291627 La Paz Cadena Panamericana in Spanish 1130 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Peasant followers of the Nationalist Democratic Action [ADN] have declared a state of emergency. ADN leaders of the La Paz Provincial Political Committee released a communique in the past few hours stating that they will not accept fraudulent manipulations in the electoral courts. The text of the communique reads as follows:

In view of the fraudulent manipulations, the distortion of information, and the invalidation of ballot boxes through a perfectly planned plot in the 18 provinces of La Paz Department by the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement [MNR], where the peasants' votes were cast for the ADN, we declare:

A general and continuous mobilization of all the peasant supporters of ADN, as a protest against these actions. The ADN also declares its firm decision expressed through the votes that should this plotting continue, the peasants will unleash coercive measures by blocking roads in the provinces and cities in defense of the overwhelming victory of the great Bolivian people, who through their voluntary votes supported the Banzer-Galindo salvation ticket, until the ADN leader assumes the country's presidency, which by right and the people's decision belongs to him.

The document released by the ADN provincial peasants committee is signed by (Vitaliano Tancara) Elias Agudo, Juan Flores, Fernando Pinto, and other leaders of the 18 La Paz provinces.

Electoral Court To Begin Count

PY292010 La Paz Cadena Panamericana in Spanish 1700 GMT 29 Jul 85

[By Cristina Corrales from the National Electoral Court in La Paz]

[Excerpt] Good afternoon, this report is to inform the people that the National Electoral Court will begin the national vote count at 1600 today. As you know, the vote counts ended over the past few days in all departments, including La Paz. Thus, the National Electoral Court this morning held a meeting and decided to begin the national vote count at 1600 today. The court will end on 2 August, when it will grant the appropriate credentials to the deputies and senators who will make up the new National Congress.

NEW ECONOMY, EDUCATION MINISTERS SWORN IN

PY292006 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1730 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Juan Carlos Delano Ortuzar and Sergio Gaete Rojas today assumed the posts of economy and education ministers, respectively, replacing Modesto Collados and Horacio Aranguiz. The swearing-in ceremony for the new ministers was held at noon in the Honor Hall of La Moneda Palace. It was presided over by President Pinochet and was attended by the ministers of the cabinet, the corps of generals and admirals, the Council of State president, and the director of the Investigative Police.

Juan Carlos Delano was president of the National Chanber of Commerce, and Sergio Gaete is a lawyer and university professor who was the dean of the Law School at the Catholic University. President Augusto Pinochet reported that Horacio Aranguiz has been given new duties, which he did not detail. Modesto Collados resigned for health reasons.

Regarding the economic sector, the president stated that the new minister should give priority to the struggle against poverty, to generating job opportunities, and to activities aimed at improving the capacity of the country to produce, import, and to increase savings, internal investments, exports, and foreign investments. He should also achieve the prompt normalization of the companies in which the state had to participate because of the recent crisis.

The president announced that the economy and finance ministers will recover their independence after the conditions have been overcome which led to the centralization of the management of the sector. The ministers will, however, coordinate their work.

In the field of education, President Pinochet stressed the importance of technical-professional training and the responsibility of teachers in molding citizens.

FOREIGN MINISTRY ON REJOINING ANDEAN PACT

PY262054 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1730 GMT 26 Jul 85

[Foreign Ministry communique issued 26 July, read by spokesman Pablo Valdes -- recorded]

[Text] In the face of news agency reports citing remarks by Foreign Minister Jaime del Valle that during his visit to Lima, Chile would seek to rejoin the Andean Pact, the following clarifications should be made:

1. Chile has always been interested in strengthening ties with Peru within the framework of an integration process between the two countries.

2. Chile has consistently sought to maintain the closest possible cooperation with Andean Pact member countries. It should be noted that an Andean Pact committee was created to this end.

3. The appropriate Chilean Government officials have been permanently evaluating the possibility of rejoining the Andean Pact.

OUTGOING PRESIDENT BELAUNDE ADDRESSES CONGRESS

PY291505 Lima Domestic Service in Spanish 1634 GMT 28 Jul 85

[Speech by outgoing President Fernando Belaunde Terry after presenting a "written message" to Congress President Luis Alberto Sanchez at the Congressional Building in Lima -- live]

[Text] In keeping with the constitutional provisions, I deliver to you, Mr President of Congress, my final message to Congress and the formal statement of my assets.

With your permission, I would like to take advantage of this inspiring opportunity to say that San Martin's best biographer blessed his sword probably because rather than being a weapon of war, it was an arrow that pointed to the future. As for the liberator Simon Bolivar, who stated that he was plowing in the sea, I must tell you on this solemn occasion that the seeds he sowed in the Andean countries have borne fruit and that no better example can be seen than this multinational and multiparty gathering whose main object is to pay homage to both San Martin and Bolivar.

I feel honored that the main hall of our Congress is now hosting such illustrious heads of state and government as well as envoys from friendly countries, all of whom are present here together with the national representatives to listen to the speech of the Peruvian president for the 1985-1990 term, to whom I would like to extend my most heartfelt congratulations and my wishes that God may light his path in leading the country so that this nation can fulfill its most lofty objectives and ideals under his administration. Thus, I now greet the new Peruvian president, Dr Alan Garcia Perez. [applause]

My written message to Congress, which I have submitted in keeping with constitutional provisions, contains the figures and details of the accomplishments of the outgoing administration. It would be senseless to make a lengthy and repetitive inventory of tasks accomplished or left undone. It has all been set down for the perusal of the lawmakers. However, a brief summary is appropriate at this difficult time for the world when the presence of the heads of state of neighbroing nations and representatives from all over the hemisphere allows us to hope that this meeting will generate constructive and guiding ideas capable of alleviating the situation not only of Peru and America but of the world at large.

The entire Third World, Latin America included, is being threatened by unemployment and malnutrition as a result of a serious political crisis, which essentially is being caused by the unfair terms of trade. Ruinous prices for our products make it impossible for us to fulfill our obligations punctually, as we would like to do. It is perfectly obvious that it is in the interest of the creditors to help the debtors fulfill their commitments. It would be completely absurd for the creditors to continue indifferently watching the inability of their debtors, not only to fulfill their obligations but also to satisfy their own essential requirements to keep their nations moving forward. It is imperative that we, rather than broaden the chasms, close the gaps and find solutions. The wealthy nations must be fully aware that if the unfair terms of trafde remain in effect, it will be absolutely impossible to solve the problems. This in turn would result in the collapse of our nations and the creditors' own bankruptcy. Thus, before my successor takes over, I call upon the illustrious guests present here to turn this meeting into something beyond a mere diplomatic gathering; let it be a kind of council of families being held in the ancestral home of the Latin American continent.

As far as we are concerned, allow me to tell you that our foremost and utmost concern has been to secure freedom, freedom of the press, and to ban revanchism or any kind of harassment of political adversaries. I believe that freedom is here to stay. Thus, even though I am aware that there are many problems yet to be solved, that the people are still in the grips of deep and justified afflictions and severe economic worries, that our best intentions are sometimes thwarted by these economic problems, and that unemployment is a serious threat, I can still, encouragingly and openly, tell the lawmakers: I leave freedom intact for you.

Peru has proven its democratic leanings, and this is just a stopover in the long trek toward freedom. I do not feel it necessary to make any kind of call for continuing respect for this freedom. Among all freedoms, freedom of the press is foremost. Thus, one of the main achievements and satisfactions of this administration was the restoration of this freedom on the first day when together, Mr President of the Congress, we stamped so be it on the Constitution which had been drawn up by the Constituent Assembly called by my predecessor, General Francisco Morales Bermudez, and presided over by that most enlightened citizen to whom I now pay due homage: Victor Raul Haya de la Torre. [lengthy applause]

Another essential concern of this government has been to develop our territory to the greatest possible extent. What challenges Peru's terrain present! What a large country! So much space and so little farmland! It has been called the land-building country, and rightly so because it has had to make its land usable through irrigation. In fact, we can still admire along the sandy dunes of the coast the remains of hydraulic projects which, despite the lack of means available in the past, surpass those we have been unable to complete despite all the modern equipment and technical facilities. How severe must have been the limitations of the inter-Andean valleys that the Incas were forced to create the (Intimayu) institution, give up the land when it could no longer feed the community, and migrate in search of some plateau that could give them a new home. As for the jungle, it was so impregnable at that time that it could not practically be put to any use.

Because of all this, we understood that farmland and its expansion are the top priority of any national administration. We were drawn by the smell of the jungle and its freshly opened paths. Out of national duty, not obsession, we sought to open its fertile lands. Thus, when we claim that we have set up an agrarian structure of a potential similar to that of the Danube Valley which spans and instills life in seven European nations, we can do so mentioning names: during our first administration, we opened the valleys of the Central (Guallaga) River, the Upper Mayo, the Saposoa and the (Fista), the Diable, the Ponaza and the (Guayabamba), while during this second administration we have added to the rural habitat the almost deserted valleys of the Palcazu, Upper Pachitea, the Pichis and its immense network of tributaries, the Pena, and the Tama Rivers.

I am happy to state exactly what we have done, because the places we reached in the past on horseback, rafts, or boats can now be reached by roads, thus incorporating into the nation those immense and fertile lands. We believe that thus we have paid due homage to the dead, the long-gone generations who had sought under the most difficult and hazardous conditions a piece of land to settle on. Our entire agricultural plan has been directed toward the expansion of the farmlands, and we believe that we have taken the steps necessary to double our total farming area.

As for forestation, of the 72 million trees we have planted, we can happily say that more than half, approximately 40 million, were planted by the people themselves, the peasants, within the framework of one of the most promising plans for Peru's agrarian development.

This colonization and road-building task has not distracted us from the need to improve irrigation in the mountainous and coastal areas, or from starting large-scale irrigation projects and pursuing those in construction. This is not a personal project; it is a matter of continuing the tasks of others. The country can now proudly enjoy an encouraging view of areas that had been devastated by floods and now have had their irrigation structure totally rehabilitated, as we could see for ourselves in Piura when dedicating the (Egidos) Dam, which was not dedicated previously because it was destroyed before it could be finished.

Great was our satisfaction when we saw with our own eyes and touched with our own hands the projects that have been carried out in the disaster areas, be they in the drought-ridden Puno and other departments or in flood-devasted northern Peru. We leave the irrigation project in Maje in place and yielding results. We leave the irrigation project in the Valle del Jeque de Feque, the Gallito Ciego Dam, in an advanced stage of construction, and soon the next government should inaugurate it. We leave behind hydraulics studies along the Peruvian coast and minor dams, such as the Jaruma Dam in Tacna. These should be sufficient comments on the land, because the tect of the message gives all the details and figures.

We were also deeply concerned about the housing problem. Our people live in hardship, and the housing problem becomes markedly worse in the fase of the inflationary process. The entire credit system is badly affected by this process and, thus, every administration must creatively set up its own mortage system. We did so through the social mortgage, the construction materials bank, and the housing bank, which promoted the installation of services in large urban sectors which lacked those services, to the detriment of their sanitary conditions.

All of this has demanded electrification and, therefore, the greatest efforts may have been dedicated to the area of energy. In the oil sector, production was maintained at 185,000 barrels per day, contracts were signed to ensure future production, and promising results were obtained on the continental shelf. We believe that the next administration will have to attract yet larger capital to further ensure future production. Still in the area of energy, we managed to increase installed electric energy by 23.4 percent over recent years. I initiated the Mantaro electric plant aimed at generating 1 million kilowatts, and I recently pressed the button to distribute that energy throughout the country. With deep satisfaction, I brought into operation the great Machu Pichu plant, which represents the present-day answer to the challenge of the past expressed in that beautiful ancient monument. The efforts in the energy area perhaps were the most important of this government.

We were also very interested in the economic recovery. Thus, the ministrial cabinet, with a great spirit of sacrifice, managed to curb expenditures to such an extent that the figures for the first half of this year, far from registering the expected deficit of 7 percent of the gross domestic product, show a deficit of 2.9 percent. We can say that the fiscal policy already shows a recovery is under way, and that revenues have noticeably surpassed the expected figures. True, the expenditures have been subject to pressures. True, the salary readjustments have increased the expenditures. But the deficit reduction is demonstrating that the situation is being brought under control in one of the worst crises in Latin America. The foreign debt has been moderate, and although the new operations stand on the order of $6 billion, the amortization of principal and interest amount to almost an equal sum.

The problem at this moment lies precisely in the lack of access to new money, in the fact that the lack of confidence in the hemisphere discourages the granting of new credits. This has been true over the past 2 years, and thus it is imperative that the restriction of private money be compensated for by an increase in development funds.

Credit has been greatly restricted because the private channels are obstructed. The dam of development funds should be opened. What does it accomplish to close the channels of speculation if the channels of development are open? So it is necessary for the world to understand that in view of this situation, the development banking that has no lucrative purpose must seek more funds for loans.

This obviously is not easy. We understand that these funds are made up of the savings of all countries that operate the great credit development institutions. These institutions need the assistance of governments, especially governments of rich countries, which have the duty to strengthen the economies of their debtors because, otherwise, they might perhaps bring about their own collapse. In our judgment, the situation requires joint action in the policy of international development and strong pressure for those credits, at reasonable and extended terms, to compensate for the lack of other credits. This system must operate with a reduction in local matching funds. It is wholly unrealistic to think that those international development credits could be used with high local matching funds at this time of crisis. We thus think that although austerity must be practiced, it must go hand in hand with activity. Austerity without activity spells death. It is necessary to find a magic formula whereby, in the face of severe fiscal discipline, our countries are not condemned to unemployment and paralysis.

Here I want to express my wish that my successor and the illustrious presidents who are attending this ceremony or who are represented by their envoys can find those facilities so that they can bring their peoples out of the deep concerns they now face. In a gesture of courtesy to this assembly and to our honored guests, I only wanted to briefly touch on those problems, but allow me to say that in years past, among the many praise-worthy gestures, there was one that inspired the Peruvian people: the August visit of His Holiness John Paul II, which permitted a true plebiscite of peace. Who can dare doubt that Peru wants peace? If all the people came out into the streets, as they have never done in any political movement, they did so to hear his words, not in a strictly religious disposition, but as citizens who love peace. The pope's tour throughout the country was an opportunity for Peruvians to express their rejection of violence. The most serious danger hanging over our countries at this time does not come from outside. All our old questions, which are the aftermath of the independence movement that turned three Spanish vice royalties into 10 republics, are ending, the old questions that necessarily had to create disaccord and disputes.

Today's threat is different. It has cropped up from within, shaped and moved by God only knows what infamous hands and what nefarious threads. In light of this threat, I want to say that our country must not be turned into a battlefield for alien ideological differences, but into a shrine of peace so as to fulfill the destiny outlined by our forefathers and our liberators.

Thus, Mr President of Congress, I wanted to recall this unforgettable visit, and this morning at the te deum I was moved when a holy speaker quoted what I once told the holy father, which I ask to be allowed to repeat here. I told his holiness: Your footprints will not disappear, your words will not be forgotten, the flame of Your Christian faith will not die. I believe that his visit was the most important event during my administration, because it made clear that our peaceful intentions are true and any attempt at stirring up conflicts is artificial.

At this solemn moment, with the memory of the liberators so alive, I would like to say that we are witnessing an inspiring display of continental unity, and the no less honorable sight of Peru reaffirming its faith in democracy. Imbued with these feelings, Mr President of the Congress, I put in your hands the sash which the people have twice bestowed on me. [applause]

With the approval of the president, I ask permission to withdraw together with the ministers of the Percovich cabinet and Vice Presidents Schwalb and Alva, who have overwhelmed me with their patriotic cooperation, of which I hereby give my expresses testimony. Many thanks. [applause]

GARCIA INAUGURAL SPEECH DRAWS COMMENT

PY292250 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1936 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Lima, 29 Jul (EFE) -- The impact caused by the inaugural speech delivered by Peruvian President Alan Garcia reflects the opinion of the Latin American presidents who attended the presidential inauguration.

Argentine President Raul Alfonsin, on behalf of his counterparts from Bolivia, Santo Domingo, Colombia, Panama, and Uruguay, said that he agreed with Alan Garcia's speech to the Peruvian people, a direct and nonrhetorical speech. Alfonsin said that he has confidence that the hopes of the new president and the Peruvian people will become a reality and that the democratic governments of the region have similar hopes. Alfonsin pointed out that those dreams will be fulfilled by hard work.

Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti labeled Alan Garcia's speech as honest, courageous, and sincere, and said that the speech touched on important issues. He agreed that the proposals of the Peruvian president should be put into practice and he declared himself an enemy of the arms race in the continent.

In his speech on 28 July Alan Garcia called for the formation of a Latin American front to support the Contadora Group in its peace-seeking efforts for Central America. Garcia also said that he will not obey the resolutions of the IMF on the foreign debt and that he will directly negotiate with the creditors. He also expressed his intention to moralize the country and to govern for all Peruvians, especially for the poor.

Peruvian newspapers today published in bold headlines, and with an impressive amount of information, the speech delivered by Alan Garcia. The newspapers emphasize the part of the speech in which the Peruvian president said that he is beginning a change in the country and a new style of government, an ethical style.

The government newspaper LA CRONICA says that the coming days will not be easy, that scourges such as inefficiency and corruption will not immediately disappear, that the economic situation will continue to be serious, and that the direct or indirect beneficiaries of the Peruvian drama will try to obstruct the process. The newspaper indicated that the difficulties will be overcome with everyone's work but without falling into easy optimism.

The newspaper also says that the new government does not want to be accepted unconditionally nor will it be submissive to today's political leaders because the people have the right to demand the fulfillment of the promises made by the new leaders. The newspaper adds that now that the people have voted for change, democracy must be strengthened to carry out moralization and achieve efficiency, and to struggle against terrorist violence and abuse by ill-intentioned officials. The newspaper points out that legality must be imposed throughout the entire country.

LA CRONICA goes on to say that efforts must be made to achieve national unity in the face of the aggression created by the large and unpaid foreign debt, and the self-defeating and absurd IMF pressures. In conclusion the newspaper says that the objective of the new government is to reactivate the productive sector, especially in the poor areas of Peru.

Outgoing President Fernando Belaunde has again taken over as president of his party, Popular Action, and announced that he will make a tour of the country. Belaunde, who said farewell in a rhetorical 30-minute speech in Congress, told his party members that Popular Action is not a losing party despite the fact that it only obtained 6 percent of the votes in the 14 April general elections.

Further Sanguinetti Remarks

PY292025 Paris AFP in Spanish 0131 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Lima, 28 Jul (AFP) -- Uruguayan President Julio Maria Sanguinetti, when stating that the Latin American countries have become overburdened by their debts, today asked here that the problem of the foreign degt be treated with maturity. Local news reporters asked the Uruguayan president, who is attending the Peruvian presidential inauguration ceremonies, about Alan Garcia's proposals on the payment of the foreign debt and the arms race. Garcia has announced that during the next 12 months, Peru will use only 10 percent of its exports to pay off the debt and will negotiate directly with the creditors without the assistance of the IMF. Sanguinetti did not answer directly, but said that in his country the problem of the foreign debt has been discussed publicly, in search of solutions offering the best conditions for his people. He said that the IMF's policies are very rigid. Commenting on Alan Garcia's proposal to stop the arms race by slowing arms purchases, he answered that each country has to resolve its border problems. Uruguay is pacifist in tendency, he added. With reference to the new Peruvian presdient, he said Garcia is a brave, honest, and sincere idealist.

Chilean Foreign Minister Reacts

PY292032 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Report from Lima]

[Excerpts] Amid rigorous security measures, the American Revolutionary Popular Alliance has taken over the Peruvian Government following 60 years of political struggle. After receiving the presidential sash, Alan Garcia made his first important announcements. As of now, Peru has put an end to its negotiations with the IMF, and during the next 12 months it will not earmark more than 10 percent of its total exports for the payment of its foreign debt. President Garcia also stressed the need to end the arms race and announced that Peru will not acquire all the Mirage 2000 aircraft ordered from France.

When Chilean Foreign Minister del Valle was asked to comment on Alan Garcia's speech, he said: Yes, we are carrying very concrete proposals which we will convey to President Alan Garcia. Chile is open to disarmament formulas for the region, as well as at the bilateral level, whenever it will lead to a reduction in arms expenditures and also, if possible, to a reduction in war material.

We can also report that Minister Del Valle had several working meetings. The most important of them was a 45-minute meeting with his Peruvian counterpart, Alan Wagner Tizon. The meeting was termed highly positive. A few hours after Alan Garcia's inauguration as Peruvian president, a meeting was arranged for the official Chilean delegation at Government Palace. The new president treated Foreign Minister Del Valle with particular cordiality. This is what we can report up to now from Lima for Radio Nacional de Chile.

French Minister Comments

PY300102 Paris AFP in Spanish 1841 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Lima, 29 Jul (AFP) -- French Education Minister Jean Pierre Chevenement stated in Lima that new Peruvian President Alan Garcia's decision to reduce the purchase of 26 Mirage 2000 planes by no means affects the very cordial relationship between the two countries. This morning Chevenement held a private meeting with Alan Garcia and new Education Minister Grover Pango and at noon left for Paris.

Regarding Garcia's announcement that Peru will only pay its foreign debt during the next 12 months with 10 percent of its exports, Chevenement said that France is willing to adapt to Peru's capabilities. The French minister told journalists at the airport in Lima that France will support Peru in finding a solution to its foreign debt problem through the Andean Pact and the EEC. However, he said that he believes that the foreign debt problem should be handled within a North-South framework because it is far reaching and possibly one of the most pressing issues in the world today.

Chevenement termed his meeting with Garcia as very cordial. He commented that Garcia is a young leader and that he believes he will achieve a great deal and find formulas to enable Peru to develop.

Regarding the speech Garcia made yesterday, Sunday, 28 July when he was sworn in, proclaiming a democratic, nationalist, popular, and revolutionary government, the French minister said that what had impressed him the most was Garcia's determination to promote the agricultural sector and the moralization campaign he intends to launch in Peru. Chevenement, who presented Garcia with a silver badge of the Sorbonne University, announced that a French mission will visit Peru shortly to discuss the possibility of technological, scientific, and cultural cooperation programs.

Mirage Producers Surprised

PY292359 Paris AFP in Spanish 1627 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Paris, 29 Jul (AFP) -- Authorities of the French Marcel Dassault Aircraft Factory termed as surprising the announcement made by new Peruvian President Alan Garcia regarding the reduction of the order placed with this enterprise by Peru for Mirage 2000 planes. This information was disclosed by sources closely linked to the French enterprise.

The same source said that the Marcel Dassault factory learned about the announcement over the radio and so far has not received any confirmation but said that if the Peruvian decision is confirmed the present contract will have to be renegotiated, something which has not happened yet. The factory refused to make any official comments on the news.

It should be recalled that in May 1984 the previous Peruvian Government placed an order with Marcel Dassault for 26 Mirage 2000 planes, among them two two-seat training aircraft, for a total of 5,900 million francs (some $690 million). The first two aircraft were delivered to Peru in June, and, should the contract be maintained, the rest should be delivered at a rate of one a month. Other countries in addition to Peru that have placed orders for Mirage 2000 aircraft, which are already being used by the French Air Force, are Egypt, India, United Arab Emirates and Greece.

SANGUINETTI OFFERS TROOPS FOR PEACE FORCE

PY291651 Montevideo Radio El Espectador Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Excerpts] President Jose Maria Sanguinetti will leave Lima today for Quito accompanied by his entire retinue. He will arrive in the Ecuadoran capital at approximately 1800. He will stay in Quito for 3 days, during which time he will hold meetings with President Leon Febres Cordero and other high-ranking officials.

President Sanguinetti has stated in Lima that our country is ready to send peace troops to Central America. The Uruguayan president stated that Uruguay supports peace and reconciliation in the region to the extent that it is willing to offer troops from its Armed Forces to carry out peace missions in that agitated zone.

At a press conference granted at the Crillon Hotel in Lima, President Sanguinetti reiterated his well-known position on the foreign debt and stressed the possibility of creating a group to support the Contadora Group.

SPOKESMAN DENIES DIPLOMATIC BREAK WITH ROC

PY262045 Paris AFP in Spanish 2134 GMT 25 Jul 85

[Text] Montevideo, 25 Jul (AFP) -- An official spokesman denied here today that diplomatic relations between the governments of Uruguay and Taiwan had been broken, refuting rumors circulating in the last few hours. An official of the Presidential Information Secretariat told AFP that there was nothing to the allegation, although he had been informed that some groundless rumors on the subject had been circulating.

Uruguay has no relations at all with the PRC, but since the installation of its constitutional government on 1 March, it has been willing to develop a diplomatic and commercial rapprochement with the PRC. Colorado Party Secretary for International Relations (?Governor) Roberto Asiain traveled to Beijing in mid-May as a gesture of rapprochement and goodwill.

The official spokesman consulted by AFP admitted that presumably it would be incompatible for Uruguay to have diplomatic relations with both the Asiatic countries but stressed that the possibility of making a choice is too distant to be considered now.

PIT-CNT REJECTS NATIONAL AGREEMENT PROPOSAL

PY261850 Montevideo Radio El Espectador Network in Spanish 0930 GMT 26 Jul 85

[Excerpt] The Interunion Workers Plenum-National Convention of Workers has rejected the executive branch proposal for a national agreement. It has labeled the proposed agreement as regrettable, meaningless, and frustrating.

This statement was made to Radio El Espectador by union leader (Telman) Borges after a meeting of the executive secretaries of the PIT-CNT who made an evaluation of the document which this radio station exclusively released a few moments ago. Borges added that the working class will not support the government's economic policies, because the economic disaster will continue and the PIT-CNT will not become an accomplice.

BELIZE

GOVERNMENT ADOPTS STRICTER IMMIGRATION MEASURES

FL291353 Bridgetown CANA in English 2206 GMT 27 Jul 85

[By Norris Hall]

[Text] Belize City, Belize, July 27, CANA -- The Belize Government, in response to U.S. complaints that this Central American state is being used as a stepping stone by American-bound illegal immigrants, is putting all visitors, especially those from Asia, under closer scrutiny, immigration officials said. The move followed the arrests in neighboring Mexico over the past few months of at least two groups of visitors who left here for Mexico without informing local immigration authorities, with the hope of illegally entering the U.S. through Mexico's border with California.

The government has also decided to refuse entry to Indian citizens, among the chief offenders, who arrive here without permits via the Soviet Union, other Eastern bloc countries, and their associates in Central America -- a reference to Nicaragua, immigration officials said.

The decision came in the wake of last month's arrest by Mexican authorities of 20 Indians who had first arrived here via Nicaragua and news from U.S. authorities that 10 Sikhs, at loggerheads with the Delhi administration, had used Belize in an attempt to enter the U.S. during last month's visit to Washington by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The 10 Sikhs were arrested at the Mexican border with California. Indians who enter Belize through the United States, Canada, and other Commonwealth countries will not need a visa, authorities said.

This official policy towards Indians is not a general rule to block Indians from entering Belize, but that the United States Government had expressed concern to the Belize Government that Indians are entering the United States illegally from Belize through Mexico, said Walter Brown, permanent secretary in the Home Affairs Ministry.

Immigration and police officials said other offenders have come from the Dominican Republic, and indications are that a group of Chinese had also attempted to use Belizean territory, at least once, for the purpose of going across to the United States. Immigration officials said there has been a trend developing recently where large groups of people from Asia were travelling extensively through the Caribbean, Central and South America in search of countries with lax immigration policies. They enter those countries legally and leave illegally and, as in the case of Belize, travel through Mexico and then, with hardly any trouble, get into the United States illegally, the officials said.

As part of tighter control on immigration here, Belize has notified all airlines flying here not to accept passengers unless they have a visitors permit.

COSTA RICA

GOVERNMENT RESTRICTS TRADE WITH GUATEMALA

PA292329 San Jose Radio Reloj in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] The Costa Rican Economy and Commerce Ministry will begin restricting trade with Guatemala as of today.

An important license for all Guatemalan products will be required by the ministry's economic integration directorate. The decision is due to the way in which the Guatemalan exchange system affects the competitiveness of Costa Rican products. In addition, Guatemala owes national industrialists $21 million. This amount has not been supported by any official documents and Guatemala has not authorized payment for Costa Rican exports in the amount of $12 million [figure as heard].

DEPUTY MINISTER ON LEFTISTS TRAINING IN CUBA

PA280339 San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 21 Jul 85 p 8A

[By Edgar Fonseca]

[Excerpts] At least 700 Costa Ricans linked to leftist groups have received military training in Cuba in the past 4 years, Public Security Deputy Minister Johnny Campos revealed during an interview in which he broached the magnitude of local and foreign espionage in the country. He described the situation as dangerous, amidst growing budget difficulties for security organizations and Costa Ricans' apathy in facing up to the situation. He divided the espionage activity into three groups: one exercised by local activists, another carried out by the Sandinist regime, and the third involving extremists from the rest of Central America, Latin America in general, and even Europe.

Campos charged that local and international leftist forces seek to destroy the Costa Rican democracy, while giving little significance to the extreme rightists who, he believes, are on a more primary level, since they do not have an organization that could attack national institutions. Referring to the subversive training offered to Costa Ricans by Cuba and other socialist nations, he warned that there is an indissoluble link between the military and the espionage action. In the particular case of Costa Rica, espionage is practiced through growing infiltration of its activists in the public sector, which is not properly counteracted.

According to Campos, aside from those leftist extremists discovered in some police organizations, there is also an indication of their presence in other dependencies and ministries. As an example he mentioned the investigations carried out in the Planning and Foreign Relations Ministries, and even in the Presidential Palace.

Asked about his charge of military training of those sectors, he pointed out that in the past 4 years this training has been intensified on the Caribbean Island, through Nicaragua. Generally, there have been groups of 50 activists sent to receive training at specific times; and most of them have already returned to the country. It is not easy to prove they have weapons, the official admitted; however, he said they obviously must have weapons.

He then referred to precedents, such as the time when several weapons were confiscated from the home of a communist leader. "We know that the Costa Rican Communist Party has a security division, so there is no doubt that they are preparing militarily. Besides, we remember the confiscation of an arsenal from one of its leaders. All these are indications and proof that there is a military organization, and not a simple one, to guard their leaders," he added.

"There is no doubt that weapons are in the country. If they found weapons in the residence of Manuel Mora (communist leader), who is going to convince me that they are not armed?" he noted. Deputy Minister Campos added to this the underhanded work of students, with scholarships donated by the communists in socialist countries, who return to the country and join the activities.

"They come to help in this work of leading our country toward the left. In some institutions or jobs they will carry out some type of proselytism to act whenever they are instructed to do so," he added.

Campos considers fictitious the division publicly shown by the national leftist sectors. They follow the same tactics used by those in the north, he said, referring to the Sandinists, who in the prerevolutionary stage appeared to be divided. "They divide to grow, not to fight among themselves. They are theoretically divided, but their true objective is to bolster their growth. That way they attract more people. It is a political technique," he said.

Concerning the extreme right, he considered it to be in "an initial stage, such as that of shouting and fighting, and lacking an organization that could now attack the democratic system." He was asked about the recent appearance of the group "Fatherland and Truth -- Patria y Verdad" of that tendency, which claimed a terrorist act in Guanacaste with the destruction of several power pylons on 11 June. The official said it was an isolated action and that the organization's leader is a man who has received "some type of terrorist training, but is not actually capable of setting up an espionage center." He tried to pull a publicity stunt and, unsuccessfully, says Campos, sought paramilitary support from groups in Guanacaste, San Carlos, and Cartago. They were neutralized after the attempt, he added. According to the official, this is the only rightist group that has been involved in these activities (actions of violence), "because the others are more involved in democratic play."

LEFTIST SPLIT INTO COALITIONS FOR ELECTIONS

PA270454 San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 22 Jul 85 p 6 A

[Article by Eduardo Amador H.]

[Excerpt] As we approach the official opening date of the political campaign prior to elections on the first Sunday in February 1986, the division among Costa Rica's various leftist sectors has deepened. The attacks on each other are harsh, although many consider these tirades to be "pure rhetoric," as the division is "merely tactical" and meant to attract new followers to leftist organizations.

Nevertheless, what is real and evident at this moment is that these sectors that traditionally grouped in past elections will not do so this time, and they have joined two coalitions: one maintaining the name with which they participated in the 1978 and 1982 elections, that is, the United People, and the other, the Patriotic Alliance.

The first coalition groups the Costa Rican Socialist Party, the New Republic Movement, and the Costa Rican People's Party. Dr Alvaro Montero Mejia is their candidate for president. The other coalition groups the popular Vanguard Party and the Broad Democratic Front, and has nominated as its presidential candidate Dr Rodrigo Guiterrez Seenz, who was a candidate in the 1978 and 1982 elections for the United People coalition.

The main cause of this division is the split in the Popular Vanguard Party -- the oldest and most traditional leftist party in the country -- with the departure of Manuel Mora, its founder, who later founded the Costa Rican People's Party. Both coalitions are prepared for the electoral process, which officially begins next month, and, according to Dr Montero Mejia, candidate of the United People coalition, their strategies are almost ready.

Ferreto stated that his group believes that Costa Rica faces a "terrible crisis," to be blamed on the governments of the National Liberation Party [PLN] and the Social Christian Unity Party [PUSC]. According to the legislator, those administrations subjected the country to a system of dependence under which it acquired a suffocating level of foreign debt, so much so that it is not possible to face up to the resulting obligations. He also pointed out that neither the PLN nor the PUSC have been capable of solving the agrarian problem, nor have they handled the housing problem, which he feels is increasingly distressing. He added that "the high level of public and private corruption in our country is cause for anxiety. The social system under which Costa Rica lives is in obvious decline and decadence; in the crisis, the rich become richer and the poor poorer."

Faced with this situation, simple palliatives are not enough; instead profound agrarian reforms are needed, as well as a change in the relationship of dependence on transnationals. As far as the foreign debt is concerned, our message is that it should not be paid because it is more important to feed the people than to meet these obligations, said Ferreto.

Commenting on the message that the United People coalition will present in this campaign, Dr Montero Mejia said that it is "obvious that the big traditional parties have nothing to offer. Our message is that we offer a patriotic Costa Rican, democratic alternative that will open the way for social reform and update the reforms that were made in the forties for the benefit of the great majority of our people."

"Categorically" denying that the United People coalition is a leftist organization, Montero acknowledged that "the most wholesome and patriotic leftists" are members of that organization, which also includes social and Christian Democrats, and independent liberals "who are aware that only through important economic and social changes is it possible to defend ourselves from the crisis, the foreign debt, the oppressive situation of the great popular masses, the IMF, and those responsible for the country's crisis."

EL SALVADOR

CASTILLO CLARAMOUNT ON DIALOGUE WITH FMLN-FDR

PA290003 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 28 Jul 85 pp A 1, A 18

[By Claudio Herrera J.]

[Text] Salvadoran Vice President Rodolfo Castillo Claramount, who also holds the foreign affairs portfolio, has ruled out the possibility of "negotiating power" with the left-wing guerrillas in that country, plagued by a chronic state of war. The (Christian Democratic) Salvadoran Government is the product of a totally free election and this democratic framework prompts us to reject "negotiating power," Castillo Claramount said in an interview with LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA before leaving for Peru, where he will attend Alan Garcia's inauguration as new president of that South American country.

Castillo Claramount, who was a member of the Constituent Assembly that drafted a new Constitution for the most densely populated and smallest Central American country, spoke about the two meetings between the representatives of the Jose Napoleon Duarte administration and El Salvador's Marxist guerrillas. "There was a spirit of rapprochement with a view to humanizing the conflict" during the meeting at La Palma on 15 October 1984, Castillo Claramount pointed out.

Later, however, the vice president and foreign minister of El Salvador recounted his government's opinion about how rapprochement with the guerrillas, aimed at establishing the basis for "humanization of the conflict" disappeared at the second meeting held in the small village of Ayagualo on 30 November of the same year, only 1 month and a few days after the first meeting.

The left-wing guerrillas, represented by the FMLN and the FDR, restated an old proposal: creation of a new government and integration of the Army and the guerrillas. The Salvadoran Government turned this rebel proposal down outright and made a new one: holding as many meetings as necessary -- in the country or abroad -- to seek ways to humanize the conflict.

With the Catholic Church's mediation and an "open agenda," the Salvadoran Government, Castillo Claramount explained, is seeking to hold negotiations with the leftist forces, but so far it has been impossible to arrange this. Humanization of the conflict, the Salvadoran vice president and foreign minister said, means or implies a halt to terrorist actions, or actions against civilians not involved in a war "that can escalate more and more."

"We are waiting for the FDR and FMLN to accept this mechanism (negotiation)," Castillo Claramount said. With regard to the Contadora Group's efforts to pacify the Central American region, he said that it depends on the "goodwill" of the region's governments.

On Havana Meeting, Contadora

PA300240 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 26 Jul 85 pp A 1, A 10

[Article by Claudio Herrera J.]

[Text] The Government of El Salvador, through Rodolfo Castillo Claramount, its foreign minister and vice president, has said here that that country will not send an official delegation to the meeting in Havana, because of Soviet meddling in that Central American country's civil war, via Cuba and Nicaragua, among other things. Castillo Claramount, who is on his way to Lima, Peru where he will take part in the swearing-in ceremonies of new Peruvian President Alan Garcia, visited the Legislative Assembly yesterday, and met with its president, Jerry Wilson Navarro.

"The Salvadoran people are really sickened by the violence that my country is experiencing," Castillo Claramount said. He was formerly a parliamentarian and head of the Christian Democratic Party [PDC] faction of the Salvadoran Constituent Assembly that drew up the new constitution for that strife-torn Central American country. Referring to his support for the Contadora Group, which is trying to bring peace to Central America, Castillo Claramount said: "My government shares Panama's commitment to peace."

"We advocate the system of dialogue outside the area in order to humanize this conflict," Castillo Claramount added. He went to the Panamanian Legislature accompanied by Ricardo Arias Calderon, president of the Panamanian PDC and prominent PDC leader at the Latin American and international level.

Castillo Claramount, at a press conference following his greetings to Wilson Navarro and a group of parliamentarians of the various political parties represented in the Legislative Assembly, said that the armed conflict in his country has two causes: social inequality and political frustration; and the expansionist schemes of Marxist governments.

Expanding on the first cause, Castillo Claramount said that El Salvador's Christian Democratic government, headed by Jose Napoleon Duarte, is making an effort to overcome the structure of social injustice that was the rule for many years in that Central American country.

The vice president of the smallest country in Central America, with an estimated population of 5.9 million this year, rejected any possibility that his government would get involved in the internal wars of neighboring countries, like Nicaragua. "We know what internal problems are like. We do not foster war schemes," he emphasized. Nevertheless, Castillo Claramount ruled out El Salvador's official participation in the meeting of Latin American personalities convoked by Cuban President Fidel Castro, which is to take place on 30 July in Havana, to debate the topic of foreign debt of the countries of the region and their economic situation." [quotation marks as published]

One of the arguments put forth by Castillo Claramount for not attending the meeting with Castro, is that the Soviet Union, through Cuba and Nicaragua, is meddling in the Salvadoran conflict by supplying arms and even with the participation of Marxist guerrillas.

NATIONAL POLICE CAPTURE 'EXTREMIST' RAMOS

PA262309 San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 25 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] Extremist Edgar Maguin Ramos, alias Chabelo, told the Armed Forces that there are differences among the FMLN-FDR leaders, in which the People's Revolutionary Army [ERP] commanders are predominant, according to a communique from the National Police General Directorate whose members captured Ramos for being an active member of that clandestine organization. It was also revealed that Ramos gave a detailed recount of his activities, noting that he was recruited by the ERP and enlisted in the ranks of the Rafael Arce Zablah (BRAZ) Brigade of the guerrillas to see action in the eastern sector. He also said he was trained in handling weapons of different calibers to serve as combatant in the same organization.

Ramos told the police that in 1984 he participated in armed harassments of various military outposts in the eastern sector and in personal attacks on members of the Armed Forces. He claimed to have participated in attacks on the troops guarding the El Delirio bridge on the coastal highway in San Miguel jurisidiction in destructive sabotage actions on a bridge next to Puerto El Triunfo in Usulutan Department, and on power towers and lines to cut off electricity and affect the national economy. He also said he participated in burning vehicles on the eastern sector of the coastal highway, and in the assault and theft of groceries in various communities of the same sector.

RADIO VENCEREMOS VIEWS U.S. 'WAR' STRATEGY

PA291814 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Excerpts] U.S. strategists and analysts say that logistical aid to the FMLN from abroad, with the training of guerrillas in military bases also outside of El Salvador, are the main reasons for the causes and proportions of the war taking place in our country. This is how U.S. imperialists explain this war, which already has cost the Reagan administration several thousands of millions of dollars, several thousands of rifles, ammunition, and artillery pieces, which the guerrillas have seized, in addition to planes and helicopters destroyed and more than 18,000 casualties in the ranks of the government's Army, including several U.S. soldiers who were killed.

To explain the causes of the Salvadoran war and its proportions as part of alleged logistical aid from abroad and training of guerrillas allegedly in military bases in Nicaragua, is beyond the simplistic scheme of U.S. imperialism's anticommunist propaganda.

This reasoning contains the basic mistake of U.S. concept and strategy in its war against the Salvadoran revolutionary process. The Pentagon did not learn its lesson in the Vietnam war. Also during the Vietnam war, the North Americans thought that causes of the advancing liberation process were explained by logistical aid given to the Vietnamese revolutionaries, through the border with the PRC and its relations with the USSR. They plunged their war machinery into such a belief and they lost the war.

Still today, the Pentagon strategists believe, or at least that is what they say in their propaganda, that they lost the Vietnam war because they did not cut off the logistical aid given to the revolutionaries. The imperialists did not learn from the lesson they received in Vietnam. U.S. strategists did not realize that it was the people's war strategy, the people's war, which defeated the U.S. Army with all its war machinery and half a million marines engaged in that war. In that mad effort to cut off logistical aid and defeat the people's war, the United States dropped bombs on Vietnam with an explosive power eight times the amount dropped during World War II, and it still could not defeat the Vietnamese people. On the contrary, the bombs dropped by the Yankees that did not explode were used by the people to make their own explosives.

The North Americans admit that at least 50 percent of their casualties were caused by mines, booby traps, and all sorts of weapons made by the people. The Vietnamese revolutionaries never had the same quantity of arms used by the North Americans. It is true that the USSR helped the Vietnamese people, but the aid they received cannot be compared to the amount used by the United States, which reached such dimensions that it could only be compared to the USSR military power. For example, the United States took an overwhelming air force and naval force to Vietnam. The Vietnamese did not have an air force or navy. However, according to their own enemies, the Vietnamese infantry troops are considered perhaps the best in the world. This happened when the entire population decided to participate and because of their unyielding determination to win.

If we make a conservative appraisal of the logistical aid used by the Vietnamese revolutionaries, it was 1 to 5,000 in proportion to the U.S. logistical aid, but the Vietnamese people seized a large quantity of rifles and arms from the U.S. Army. There is currently an arsenal in Vietnam of U.S.-made weapons large enough to arm several armies.

In El Salvador, the disproportion of supplies given by the United State to the Salvadoran Army is perhaps 5,000 to 1, compared to what the FMLN has received in logistical aid. For the Salvadoran revolutionaries to obtain just 1 percent of what the Duartist Army is receiving from the Reagan administration, it would require an uninterrupted daily supply of trucks loaded with 20 tons and ships and planes carrying arms, ammunitions, and supplies, which would be impossible to conceal.

This logistical support from abroad could only be possible with the participation and support of the United States because with this plan to cut off our logistical support, the United States has seized control of the Golfo de Fonseca and the land borders with Honduras and Guatemala, which have governments that are enemies of the Salvadoran revolutionary forces. The argument regarding logistical support from abroad is ridiculous to try to explain the progress made by the FMLN in the war. Still more ridiculous are the arguments by General Paul Gorman exhibiting photographs of burros loaded with arms allegedly as the definite evidence of the logistical support from abroad.

The U.S. military strategists contradict themselves when they maintain that the explanation for this war lies in the large-scale logistical support that the FMLN allegedly receives from abroad, while at the same time they say that there can't be another Vietnam in El Salvador due to the nonexistence of common borders with friendly countries such as Cuba, Nicaragua, or the USSR.

Which one of these theories do the U.S. strategists support? Whenever the approval of the U.S. Congress is required for additional military aid, the strategists base their recommendations on the logistical support received by the FMLN from abroad. However, when their hopes of defeating the FMLN through a direct intervention are high, they contend that the United States should consider the impossibility of the FMLN receiving large logistical support from abroad as a guarantee of a victory over the FMLN. As in the Vietnam War, in El Salvador the imperialists fail to admit that victory does not depend on logistics but on popular support. The people's war only depends on the people to obtain supplies and implement its tactics.

The U.S. advisers and the members of the Salvadoran High Command are totally aware of the vast territory that the FMLN has under its political and military control, and know that it is there where our fighters are trained to develop the tactics of popular war. This popular war is based precisely on support from all of the people, on the profound knowledge of the terrain, and on the creativity and participation of all of the people in the war. This is basically what is required to carry out operations such as the one in the Zona Rosa. Detailed information on the enemy's activities is indispensable and can only be obtained with popular support. Not much technique is necessary to learn how to operate small arms, submachine guns, and explosives. What is really indispensable is the people's support, determination, and revolutionary conviction. Furthermore, the Salvadoran revolutionary movement was born, grew, and matured within the framework of urban guerrilla warfare. We have a vast experience in this field directly acquired during actions carried out on the streets of San Salvador.

Apparently the U.S. Government wants to protect its men in El Salvador only with threats and ridiculous statements. The hierarchs of Yankee imperialism want to wage war without paying the price for it. They want to wage war without having to die. The Yankees have been accustomed to becoming involved in wars that take place thousands of miles away from their country. This happened during World War II, in Korea, in Vietnam, and now they even want to take the limited nuclear war to Europe, far from their borders.

The gringos like to promote and conduct business with war, but they are afraid to have a war near them. The United States likes the idea of waging war only with dollars, threats, and advisers. This is how they began in Vietnam: First, they helped the French financially; they installed and removed puppet governments; then they armed and financed the puppet Army; and finally, they got themselves involved with more than 500,000 men, of which 50,000 were killed thousands of miles away from their country.

In Vietnam, U.S. imperialists wanted to wage the war with dollars, but they had to deploy their men -- the weakest element of the U.S. war mechanism. The 500,000 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam did not have to face the logistical support from abroad or commandoes trained abroad. They fell into the mortal trap prepared for the invaders in a war waged by all of the people. They also had to struggle against Americans who hated that war so much that they became one of its strongest opponents. Americans forced the U.S. Government to leave Vietnam. Imperialism lost its war against the war of all of the Vietnamese.

Now, the United States also wants to wage a war in El Salvador with dollars and more than 100 advisers. However, we are only a few miles away from its borders and U.S. soldiers have already begun to die on Salvadoran soil. How many more years will the U.S. support the war in El Salvador? How many U.S. youths will become involved in the Salvadoran war? The national liberation war being waged in El Salvador is not based on logistics or the training of guerrillas abroad.

The Salvadoran war is the people's war for their liberation. If the imperialist strategists do not realize this in time, they will lose another war against people fighting for their freedom. If the U.S. Government does not want U.S. citizens to be killed in this war, it must understand that this will not be accomplished with threats or ridiculous arguments, with more security at its embassies, with more military aid, the million-dollar training of troops, or reward offers. Neither its threats, nor its weapons, nor its dollars will stop us. We have our plans. We are already in a war against the puppet Army and against the United States itself. All its arguments are useless. If the United States does not want more deaths in the Salvadoran war, the solution is very simple: Just get out of the Salvadoran war. Let us be free in order to decide our own destiny. In this way, the United States will not have to spend so many millions of dollars, and not even one more U.S. soldier will be killed in El Salvador.

GUATEMALA

NEW DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ON BELIZE ISSUE

PA270155 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 25 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] International pressure is damaging to Guatemala in the case of Belize, the new deputy foreign minister said. International pressure has prevented Guatemala from making progress regarding its just claims over the territory of Belize, Gustavo Santizo Galvez said yesterday. Santizo is now deputy foreign minister for the second time in almost 30 years.

The new official, who has more than 36 years of service in the area of diplomacy, was sworn in as deputy foreign minister by Foreign Minister Fernando Andrade Diaz-Duran. When asked about Guatemala's failures regarding Belize, the deputy foreign minister replied: "It is not a matter of failure; the international pressure, particularly pressure from the United Kingdom, has been tremendous." Guatemala does not have the UK's resources, and as a logical consequence, this has helped Belize to obtain its unilateral independence, which Guatemala has not recognized. Referring to the Contadora Group, the new deputy foreign minister and veteran diplomat stated: "It is the most appropriate forum for resolving regional problems."

'MISINFORMATION' BLAMED FOR LACK OF AID

PA270443 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 26 Jul 85 p 14

[Text] Powerful organizations that have sufficient economic resources have given misinformation about us in several countries, particularly in the United States, and that is why we are denied financial and military aid, Gen Rodolfo Lobos Zamora, chief of staff of national defense, said yesterday.

It is nothing new that it is said today that the Army is the cause of the economic crisis and other negative aspects that we are enduring, but we are very surprised to hear that Guatemala is mentioned and nothing is said about other Central American countries, which have very difficult economic situations and where human rights are violated daily.

We are pleased with the reports to the effect that aid will be obtained when there is a civilian government, although this does not mean that the Army is going to disappear, as the national constitution provides for an army as a professional entity created to defend peace and sovereignty throughout the national territory, Gen Rodolfo Lobos Zamora concluded.

SERRANO, FUENTES REGISTER AS CANDIDATES

PA300330 Guatemala City Cadena de Emisoras Unidas in Spanish 2350 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Excerpts] Jorge Serrano Elias and Mario Fuentes Pieruccini have officially registered as candidates for president and vice president, respectively. The ticket was officially approved during the national assemblies held this past weekend. All documents have been delivered to the director of the political organizations department. Jorge Serrano Elias said he was very pleased with the alliance between the Democratic Party of National Cooperation [PDCN] and the Revolutionary Party [PR] because this alliance has an ideal and a clear conviction of struggling against corruption.

FAR GUERRILLA ATTACK ON OIL FIELD REPORTED

PA261303 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 26 Jul 85

[Text] Attention, much attention. Guerrilla actions are taking place in Guatemala. Guatemalan patriots are staging attacks against the genocidal government of Mejia Victores. The Guatemalan guerrilla forces have occupied an oil camp, two towns, and two sections of highway and staged successful clashes with the troops of the genocidal Mejia Victores.

Reports say that units of the Guatemalan Rebel Armed Forces, FAR, have staged a vast military operation in the northern El Peten Department. The FAR reported that at 0830 hours on 20 July units of the Mardoqueo Guardado Front occupied the camp of a foreign oil company, situated along the northern highway, 30 km from Rubelsant in (Zayaste) municipality. The guerrilla forces of Guatemala carried out a massive political rally with the workers of this oil field. The guerrillas also destroyed vehicles and other equipment of the transnational oil company. We have also received reports to the effect that this operation lasted 2 and 1/2 hours.

At 0600 on 20 July units of the same Guatemalan guerrilla front occupied the town of (Cuernavaca). On the previous day they had occupied the town of (La Cural). On 14 July units of the Lucio Ramirez Front clashed for 30 minutes with an Army company of criminal Mejia Victores which was combing the area of near (Jose Fijao) hamlet. The front inflicted many casualties on the criminal forces of the Guatemalan dictatorship.

We have also received reports that Guatemalan guerrilla units occupied two stretches of the highway, one near (Jose Fijao) hamlet, between (El Turul) and La Libertad, and the other between (Los Guamales) and Palestina on the same route of La Libertad municipality. The Guatemalan brothers report that they carried out broad political activities with the population during the operations and that they suffered no casualties during these guerrilla actions.

Nicaragua: Your victory is being consolidated.
El Salvador: The people are struggling.
Guatemala: A revolution is advancing.
Central America: An isthmus is defeating imperialism.

From Morazan, in El Salvador, we send our revolutionary greetings to Guatemala, to its lakes, volcanoes, and mountains; our greetings to all the Guatemalan people, to the exploited, the have-nots of Guatemala who are struggling for their national liberation. Our greetings to all the Guatemalan revolutionary organizations, to the revolutionary unity of Guatemala. The Salvadoran people send their greetings with deep emotions at this hour of hemispheric advances.

HONDURAS

EDITORIAL 'FEARS' OBSTRUCTION OF ELECTION

PA260324 San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 25 Jul 85 p 7

[Editorial: "On the Electoral Campaign"]

[Text] We are engaged in an open race for the presidency. The presidential hopefuls have set their electoral campaigns into motion and, with the exception of the new parties and some leaders of the traditional parties who have lost their positions of power, all interested parties are involved in the frantic pre-electoral turmoil.

Radio and television appearances are cropping up like mushrooms after a rainstorm. The dust is being shaken from the slipcovers of old folk song recordings which, with some plagiarism and a dotting of magic, have been transformed into the battle songs that champion names of men who have done little or nothing to define with any degree of clarity the government action plans they will implement if they attain power. Thus far, only one political party has outlined its platform. The others have eluded this responsibility despite it being one of the mandatory requirements established in the Electoral and Political Organizations Law.

Meanwhile, plots and schemes contrived behind closed doors and amid black masses (which resist demise under the weak force of a fledgling democracy) continue to be wrought in an attempt to frustrate this attempt to consolidate the Honduran democracy. There are irresponsible people who, in their overzealous drive to win the president's favor, stubbornly insist that he should retain power for at least 2 more years. Radio reports claiming that a bipartisan group of deputies is interested in promoting a "solution" of this nature continue to be aired, proving that there is a basis for these presumptions because in Honduras it is customary to launch "test balloons" to measure the people's reactions to the obscure convolutions of power.

Honduran public opinion must work through this snarl of inconsistencies, plots, and conspiracies to define fundamentals hidden within it and demand compliance with at least the following requirements:

1. That the election be held on 24 November without room for excuses or postponements of any kind.

2. That the Honduran Armed Forces, which in the past have attested to their seriousness and independence from political matters, guarantee the election.

3. That the electoral campaign be rectified to remove once and for all the insults, slander, and immorality that have characterized campaigns, replacing these with constructive criticism; the dissemination of doctrines, principles, and development programs; and the passionate defense of democratic principles.

Morally qualified citizens have already raised their voices to demand that the people's right to an honest election held on the established date be respected. The call recently issued by the Catholic Church is prominent among these. Contrary to the people who in good faith believe that the elections will be held without major problems, LA PRENSA fears that certain disquieting elements in the domestic scenario hint otherwise.

The inexplicable recurrence of rumors that Suazo Cordova will retain power, the specter of a coup intermittently paraded by some weary-eyed leaders, and the rumors of last minute removals and transfers are really food for thought.

Therefore, it is our duty as an organization that, more than any other, has fought for the return of constitutional rule, to ask the country's most prominent politicians to take action to stop the verbal violence and replace it with serious, productive confrontations that will enlighten the people and lead them to higher levels of civic and social maturity.

We also reaffirm our strong belief that the elections must be pure and that they must be held on the designated date. Any attempt to obstruct this national goal will open a Pandora's box full of problems and disturbances. We hope that those who hold the real decision-making power in this country will give serious thought to this matter. The way in which it is handled will determine if we consolidate peace, democracy, and freedom or sink in the horrors of anarchy, despotism, and oppression.

NICARAGUA

CONTRAS AMBUSH TRUCKS, KILL 7 CIVILIANS

PA290120 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 2327 GMT 28 Jul 85

[Report by Mario Zelaya Zelaya]

[Excerpts] Mercenaries of the Reagan administration ambushed two trucks carrying 65 relatives of troops of the Patriotic Military Service [SMP] today. The counterrevolutionaries killed 7 relatives of the SMP troops and wounded 16 others. Here are more details as recounted by Francisco Flores in Matagalpa.

[Begin recording] The people's murderers massacred and killed mothers of Sandino's cubs in the course of a cowardly ambush. Rio Blanco military sources reported that yesterday at approximately 1600 two trucks transporting 65 mothers of the SMP troops from Leon and Chinandega were ambushed. The heroic mothers were the victims of indiscriminate machine gun strafing by the Somozist mercenaries financed by the U.S. Government. The genocide of Reagan's sons against helpless, unarmed people was staged on the road linking Rio Blanco and Mulucucu at the place known as La Paila, 265 km northeast of Managua. The military sources also reported that, upon learning of the attack, peasant militias near the site of the crime clashed with the murderers for 4 hours, inflicting four dead and an undetermined number of wounded on the enemy, who retreated deep into Zelaya mountains when Sandinist People's Army reinforcements arrived.

Defense Ministry Bulletin

PA291545 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] We have a bulletin from the Defense Ministry that states that on 27 July, at 1700, two IFA trucks transporting Nicaraguan citizens who were going to visit relatives on patriotic military service in Mulucucu were ambushed by a group of Somozist counterrevolutionaries in the area between Wilike and La Paila, 18 and 22 km, respectively, northeast of Rio Blanco, Matagalpa Department. As a result of this new criminal action by the mercenaries against the Nicaraguan civilian population, 9 persons died -- 8 women and a man -- and another 18 were wounded.

The dead have been identified as toncepcion Sandino Blanco, Maria Jose Chavez Rodriguez, Simona Moreno Reyes, Rosa Alpina Espinoza Rodriguez, Dolores Medina, Petronila Solis Rodriguez, Rosa Espino Sanchez -- who was set on fire by the mercenaries -- Josefina Betanco -- also set on fire by the mercenaries -- and Marcos Quintana Garcia.

The wounded include Zoila Torres Gutierrez, Alma Iris Sanchez, Pastora Salgado Ordenana, Carlos Obregon Lopez, Daisy Mayorga Lopez, Silvio Moreno Flores, Mario Aguilar Perez, Aura Pacheco Hernandez, Jose Francisco Chavez Herrera, Justo Esteban Cantillano, Alma Nidia de Estrada, Juana Olivares Moreno, Angela Santana Escoto, Clemente Fermin Diaz, Juana Espinoza, Marcos Allet Lindo Bolanco, Roberto Hernandez, and Tania Espinoza Rodriguez.

Managua, 28 July, Defense Ministry

Protest to U.S. Government

PA292351 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 2305 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Protest note from Acting Foreign Minister Nora Astorga to Secretary of State Shultz -- date not given]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz: I am addressing you to notify you of the following:

At approximately 1700 hours on Saturday, 27 July a group of mercenaries at the service of the U.S. Government ambushed two trucks carrying mothers and relatives of fighters of the Patriotic Military Service in the area between Wilike and La Paila, northwest of Rio Blanco, in Matagalpa Department. As a result of this criminal terrorist action, eight innocent mothers were murdered, and two of their bodies were burned, while another mother was wounded. A total of 18 other persons were also injured in the attack. The names of the murdered mothers are: Concepcion Sandino Blanco, Maria Jose Chavez Rodriguez, Simona Moreno Reyes, Rose Alpine Espinosa Rodriguez, Dolores Medina, Petronila Solis Rodriguez, Rosa Espino Sanchez, and Josefina Betanco. The wounded persons are: Zoila Torres Gutierrez, Alma Iris Sanchez, Pastora Salgado Ordenana, Carlos Obregon Lopez, Daisy Mayorga Lopez, Silvio Moreno Flores, Mario Aguilar Perez, Aura Pacheco Hernandez, Jose Francisco Chavez Herrera, Justo Esteban Cantillano, Alma Nidia de Estrada, Juan Olivares Moreno, Angela Santana Escoto, Clemente Fermin Diaz, Juan Espinoza, Marcos Allet Lindo Polanco, Roberto Hernendez, and Tania Espinoza Rodriguez.

The responsibility for this savage and cowardly attack lies directly with the U.S. Government inasmuch as it promotes and encourages the mercenary forces that are financed, armed, and directed by the CIA with the p pose of sowing terror among the Nicaraguan people. This terrorist action takes place shortly after the U.S. Congress approved new million dollar funds for these mercenary and terrorist groups, who are unable to confront the organized forces of the people and therefore engage in carrying out massive crimes against defenseless citizens.

On presenting its most formal and strong protest to the U.S. Government over this new act of barbarism committed by the mercenary groups at the service of the United States, the Nicaraguan Government emphasizes that this outrageous crime once again shows the inconsequent nature of the U.S. policy, which on one side launches harsh attacks against terrorism and threatens Nicaragua with unjustified direct military attacks that violate international law, while on the other side, it engages in promoting the most inhumane terrorist actions against the Nicaraguan population. A minimum coherent attitude would call for not only suspending all types of support to the mercenary groups, but to try to find a negotiated peaceful solution to the Central American crisis, by resorting to the means established by the UN Charter, such as the International Court of Justice, and rejoining the bilateral dialogue with Nicaragua, as the Contadora Group recently requested and which is requested by the international community.

[Signed] Nora Astorga, acting foreign minister

Ortega Speaks at Funeral

PA300452 Managua Domestic Service in Spanish 0400 GMT 30 Jul 85

[Speech by President Daniel Ortega on 29 July during funeral service for eight mothers killed in Leon -- recorded]

[Text] A little more than an hour ago we met with Father Miguel D'Escoto, who has been fasting for 23 days for peace and life. At the meeting, there was also a Brazilian bishop, Msgr Pedro Casaldaliga. Last night, when he arrived in our country to identify with Father Miguel and the Nicaraguan people, he heard the terrible news about the murder of these Nicaraguan mothers. Father Miguel and Bishop Casaldaliga do not want the Nicaraguan people to suffer any longer. The FSLN National Directorate and the Nicaraguan Government do not want the Nicaraguan party to suffer any longer. This is why we have insisted before the U.S. Government on a dialogue, so that we can reach an understanding to put an end to the grief and the suffering of the Nicaraguan people.

Today, when we arrived at La Merced Church, we were moved by the cries of the children who have been left orphans. We were moved by the crying of men who have left widowers. We were moved by the crying of the relatives. We are moved by this suffering, because these mothers are our mothers, because the fallen men are also our brothers. The young girl of 18 who was killed during her visit to her brother is also our little sister. [applause] We cried with the relatives, and we also got angry with the relatives. We got angry with the relatives and aimed this indignation at those who provoke grief, those who provoke division in the Nicaraguan family. Who divides the Nicaraguan family? The U.S. leaders. They want to prod Nicaraguans into fighting, like dogs and cats.

The Nicaraguans are divided by those who finance terrorist actions against the Nicaraguan people; by those who have forced the Nicaraguan people to mobilize thousands of their children to defend the fatherland, to defend their brothers, and to defend the family. Who is to blame for the separation of thousands of youths who are now many miles from their homes in the war areas, confronting the aggressors? Was it the will of the FSLN national leadership or of the national government? Or was it the will of their relatives? The national leadership, the revolutionary government, and their relatives would like those youthsnever to have left to fight in those war zones.

Who has provoked division? Who attacks us from abroad? Who became accomplices to the division of the Nicaraguan family? Who remains silent here in our country while these crimes are committed by the U.S. Government against the people of Nicaragua? We have made efforts, despite the difficulties, and we continue to make efforts so that the mothers and relatives may meet with their children once in a while, to take their love to them, and to be with them a few minutes or hours.

It is the U.S. Government, through the mercenary forces of the Somozist beasts, who are now bent on preventing the meeting of the mothers with their mobilized children. The Somozist beasts were the ones who fired at these mothers and relatives. They are the ones who intend to divide the Nicaraguan family. Here we have the bodies of five companeros and companeras, mothers, an 18-year old girl, and another companero. Another body could not be identified because it was completely burned. Seven women murdered, and another body, and we do not know if it was a woman, more victims of the aggression. Seven more victims, seven more women were wounded. Our feelings have been hurt, we have been hurt to the core, the hearts of the relatives of the victims have been hurt.

The hearts of the residents of (El Colloral), San Felipe, Guadalupe, and El Calvario neighborhoods have also been hurt. The heart of Leon, the heart of Nicaragua has been wounded. We are also angry, and that is why we say we are not ashamed to cry when we are angry, when we feel strong, when we feel patriotic. [applause]

Eight more killed. A few months ago, specifically in May, when we visited a concentration camp in Poland, the (Maydank) concentration camp where millions of Europeans were murdered by the fascists, we said that, now that the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism has been commemorated, Nicaragua is now the victim of a policy similar to the one applied by fascists against European nations. This is to say, a policy of extermination. We also said -- and we want to repeat it now, although this disturbs the Americans' cynicism and hypocrisy -- that their behavior is worse than Hitler's. Americans are fascists, criminals, and murderers. [applause and chants] They are literally provoking our extermination. They think that by killing Nicaraguans -- children, young men, women, mothers -- every day the time will come when we will tell them: Gentlemen imperialists, we kneel before you and surrender. They are wrong. [shouts] They are wrong because at this rate they will have to exterminate us, they will have to annihilate all Nicaraguans, all mothers in Nicaragua, all women, all children, all the men of Nicaragua because they will never make us kneel down. [applause, chants]

Is it not the same? Are they not acting like Hitler, to be killing innocent mothers? Gentlemen American leaders, gentlemen congressmen who voted the $27 million: Don't be cynical. You claim you worry about democracy, you claim you are worried about human rights. Do you think you are promoting democracy and human rights in Nicaragua when you murder mothers, murder children, women, and youths? Were these mothers carrying cannons, rifles, or guns? They were carrying their hearts filled with love. That was their crime, their hearts filled with love, determination, and patriotism. This is why they were murdered. [crowd shouts]

Leaders of the United States, congressmen who voted in favor of the $27 million for the murderers of these mothers: Are you not acting like fascists, worse than Hitler in these moments, when you shoot at defenseless people, when a military power such as the United States shoots at defenseless people? Are you not acting like fascists when you violate international law and attack the people?

We do not care if the leaders of the United States feel hurt when we call them fascists, as we do not care if the congressmen who voted for the $27 million feel hurt when we say that on behalf of democracy and human rights they are acting as accomplices of fascism. We are sure that the U.S. people are going to demand an explanation for their attitude. We are sure, Mr Reagan and U.S. leaders, we are sure, gentlemen U.S. representatives who voted in favor of the $27 million, that your children and your grandchildren will demand an explanation for these crimes you are committing against the people of Nicaragua. [applause, slogans] You can continue to commit crimes, you can also decide to launch at any moment the so-called actions to punish Nicaragua, and even invade us, but here, before the remains of our mothers, sisters, and companeras, Maria Jose Chavez Rodriguez, before the mortal remains of Maria Angelica Perez Moreno, Petronila Solis Rodriguez, Concepcion Sandino Blanco, Simona Moreno Reyes, Albertina Espino Huete, Marcos Quintana Garcia, before the mortal remains of that companero or companera yet to be identified because the body was burned, we tell the U.S. leaders: Do not build up your hopes. You can become good friends with Nicaragua if you know how to behave before a worthy people. In the meantime you have in the Nicaraguan people a people determined to fight against aggression, determined to fight against you, to win, and to spill blood and tears defending this revolution.

You have a people who will never surrender to the so-called policy of pressure; who will never surrender to the terrorist actions of the U.S. leaders; who shall never surrender even to an eventual bombing by the Yankee Air Force or to an eventual intervention by U.S. troops. They will find a people who will never betray the memory of their heroes and martyrs who knew how to fight, live, and die with our slogan of Free Fatherland [people answer: "or Death!"]

ORTEGA SENDS MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICAN BISHOP TUTU

PA300107 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1930 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] In a solidarity message to Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, who was recently awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega condemned the brutal wave of repression unleashed by the South African racist regime during the past few days. Ortega said: Our people -- who experience every day the state terrorism of the U.S. Government -- cannot but add their voices to the world's cry against the terrorist escalation. This escalation has led the South African Government to announce allegedly special measures to cover the apratheid regime's latest crimes of murder and mass detentions. This repression clearly shows the desperation of a decadent regime confronted by the will of a people who are ready to defend their rights. Ortega's message ended by saying: Dear Bishop, the Nicaraguan people -- in its struggle to defend its independence -- is inspired by the courage demonstrated by the South African people these days.

SERGIO RAMIREZ MEETS AREA PRESIDENTS IN LIMA

PA291600 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Last night, Vice President Sergio Ramirez, who represented President Daniel Ortega at the swearing-in ceremony for Peruvian President Alan Garcia, held important meetings with several Latin American chiefs of state in Lima. Ramirez, who shortly after his arrival in the Peruvian capital last Saturday met with Colombian President Belisario Betancur, this evening met privately with Panamanian president Nicolas Ardito Barletta, Argentine President Raul Alfonsin, and Uruguayan President Julio Sanguinetti. He told them about the position of the Nicaraguan Government on the Central American crisis, which is a source of concern for all countries of the continent.

He also told them that the Nicaraguan Government always maintains a position in favor of bilateral dialogue with the United States and Costa Rica to achieve peace. Later Sergio Ramirez met with President Alan Garcia for the same purpose.

D'ESCOTO CALLS U.S. 'ARROGANT GOLIATH'

PA261909 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1802 GMT 26 Jul 85

[Statement by Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto at the church in the Msgr Lezcano neighborhood in Managua on 26 July -- live]

[Excerpt] Nicaragua is experiencing very difficult times. The U.S. Government, like the arrogant Goliath, is defying us with its power and arms, so that we will surrender and give up the construction of a just and brotherly society, as God desires. However, we, like the little David with his slingshot and stones, will face that country daily in the battlefield, at the factories, in the fields, in the schools, in homes, offices, and shops. In every corner where we, the Nicaraguans, work and fight with hope, David is defeating Goliath.

Today, on this day of national fasting for peace, in defense of life and against terrorism, all of Nicaragua comes out to occupy the theological trench, and opens the front of evangelical insurrection to defeat (?and also open) the imperial demon. Today we are fasting and praying as a sign of our uncontrollable clamor for peace. We are certain that this clamor is reaching God, and is spreading throughout the world as good news of hope. We are praying and fasting at the temples, work centers, and private homes. Today we deprive ourselves of food as a collective sign that we are hurt by hunger, and the war imposed on us by the imperial demon. As a sign that we are willing to give all, even our lives, for the defense of the fatherland and our people's future. Today we are fasting as a sign that we are struggling, so that in the future we can live in peace, and justly share among all the goods of the land, education, health, bread, and the (?good times) .

Today we meet to pray together, because we know that peace is God-given for his poorest children, and for those who promote justice. We also believe that a confident and humble prayer to the God of life will construct a new Nicaragua. The imperial demon, the one who only trusts arms and dollars, the one who with arrogance proclaims that he is the owner of the world, and tries to impose himself on others, buying consciences and striking at those smaller than he; that terrorist demon, who feels invicible like Goliath, also requires us to fast and pray to defeat him. We will defeat him. Let us have faith. We will defeat him. Together with all of you I direct my heart to God.

AMBASSADOR ON U.S. TALKS, DMZ WITH COSTA RICA

PA280012 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1930 GMT 26 Jul 85

[Text] Carlos Tunnerman, Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States, is in Nicaragua for consultations and to plan work programs with the government. Ambassador Tunnerman held a press conference today and said that only one of every seven U.S. citizens agrees with aid to the contras. He said that 75 percent of the U.S. public is against intervention because, as several U.S. polls have shown, they do not want another Vietnam. Regarding Father D'Escoto's fast for peace, Ambassador Tunnerman said it has had great repercussions among the people of the United States and that today or tomorrow there will be a national fast under the slogan: We fast for peace. Ambassador Tunnerman also said that events held on the occasion of the sixth anniversary had ample coverage in the United States and the media stressed the fact that 500,000 people had gathered at the plaza to commemorate the day. The ambassador also denied malicious rumors that he will replace Foreign Minister D'Escoto .

[Begin recording] [Tunnerman] The Contadora Group, many countries, and even U.S. public opinion are aware of the fact that the best way to resolve problems among countries is through dialogue. The best way to resolve problems is finding a politically negotiated solution and putting aside violence, such as aggression and military aid to the counterrevolution. Nicaragua once again insists on its willingness to hold dialogue. Nicaragua has a very clear policy in this sense. We are always willing to hold dialogue and we are giving all our support to the Contadora Group. Nicaragua knows that when conflicts develop, the only logical way to resolve them is through international law. For example, when the CIA mined our ports, Nicaragua brought its charges before the International Court of Justice. The United States was the one that refused to go before the court and disregarded the ruling of the International Court of Justice. We have continued with our efforts before the International Court of Justice public hearings will begin in September. Nicaragua will present its side and the court will continue with the process. However, the United States continues to be absent from the International Court of Justice.

[Question indistinct]

[Tunnerman] This has been very well received. It is a new demonstration, or another demonstration, of Nicaragua's wishes for peace. Nicaragua proposed to the Costa Rican Government a demilitarization of the southern border, our border with Costa Rica. Nicaragua even said that if Costa Rica, for one reason or another, should not accept a joint demilitarization Nicaragua is willing to do it on its own territory, for the border into Nicaraguan territory. It would establish a demilitarized zone with international supervision and the participation of representatives of armies or governments of friendly countries that want peace in the area. They would supervise the demilitarized zone. This would be their contribution to peace and a way to prevent incidents at the border with Costa Rica. This idea has had wide acceptance. It has been described as an important suggestion and a demonstration of Nicaragua's wishes to adopt effective measures to prevent conflicts and maintain peace with the brother countries of Central America. [end recording]

CONTRA 'TERROR' PLAN FOR PUERTO CABEZAS REVEALED

PA270036 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 0005 GMT 27 Jul 85

[Text] Today a ranking Interior Minister official in Puerto Cabezas reported the details of a large-scale counterrevolutionary plan to impose the reign of terror in that city. The plan, which was to be executed by a group from the Indian organization Miskitos, Sumus and Ramas [Misura] that opposes the peace process, included the blowing up of the city's fuel tanks, the abduction of National Assembly member Dorotea Wilson, the destruction of military installations and government buildings, and the murder of several Interior Ministry officials.

The counterrevolutionary actions are part of the so-called Black Eagle Plan exposed by Commander Tomas Borge last May when the government announced its decision to promote the repatriation of Miskito Indians to their homes on the banks of the Coco River.

Deputy Commander Jose Gonzalez, Interior Ministry delegate in the region, reported that the counterrevolutionary plans in the area sponsored by the CIA seek to obstruct the peace process begun after talks and after agreements were signed by Misura's top leaders and military authorities.

COSTA RICAN CANDIDATE ON CONTRA CAMPS NEAR BORDER

PA290255 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1300 GMT 28 Jul 85

[Text] Costa Rican Socialist Party presidential candidate Alvaro Montero Mejia has reported that the refugee camps in northern Costa Rica serve as supply and rest centers for the counterrevolutionary forces that seek the overthrow of the Managua government.

In statements to the Mexican daily UNOMASUNO, Montero Mejia said some of these camps are rest centers for contras who await reincorporation into the mercenary ranks. He said that in Costa Rica the counterrevolution has seized resources sent by the United Nations to the refugees who have settled in areas near the Costa Rican-Nicaraguan border. These camps are logistics centers for the rebel bands of Democratic Revolutionary Alliance and those rebels who have safehouses in the heart of the Costa Rican capital. They double as communications and medical assistance centers, Montero Mejia claimed. He said all this takes place with participation by and complicity of Costa Rican Government sectors with the mercenary forces, which militarily harass the Nicaraguan people.

AUTHORITIES INVESTIGATING PASTORA INCIDENT

PA261413 San Jose Radio Reloj in Spanish 1200 GMT 26 Jul 85

[Text] In police circles it was reported yesterday that authorities are trying to locate those who helped Eden Pastora and two other men get out of the country. This action took place minutes after the crash of the helicopter in which they were traveling in the Quebrada Honda sector of Veracruz, (?capital) of San Carlos. It is believed that the counterrevolutionary leader was rescued and taken in a vehicle to the border area. He then crossed the border and went to an anti-Sandinist base, according to reports by the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance.

Captain Reinaldo Vargas, from the Directorate of Civil Aviation, said that a report on the Eden Pastora helicopter accident could be ready within 1 to 3 months. The incident occurred on Tuesday afternoon when the counterrevolutionary commander was traveling in the company of two anti-Sandinist pilots. The U.S.-registered helicopter, M-71 FA, was donated by a Panamanian businessman some 3 weeks ago. It is a [word indistinct] 500.

Captain Vargas said that the investigation under way to determine the cause of the crash has been hindered because the helicopter was moved almost 300 meters. He added that the investigation could have relied on information contained in flight equipment, but after three persons dismantled the helicopter, this evidence has practically vanished. These three men were arrested yesterday by the Rural Guard and will be accused today of the presumed crime of illegal sheltering [favorecimiento real].

ARDE'S ADOLFO CHAMORRO LEAVING ARMED STRUGGLE

PA262015 San Jose Radio Impacto in Spanish 1830 GMT 26 Jul 85

[Text] Adolfo "Popo" Chamorro, second in command of the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance, ARDE, this morning announced his withdrawal from the armed struggle and his plan to become involved in political activities. A statement sent by Commander Chamorro to the news media was read by an ARDE spokesman:

[Begin recording] With the historic responsibility that the struggle for the liberation of Nicaragua entails and the current need to make known politically the original principles of our revolution, which has been betrayed, I announce my withdrawal from the military field in order to devote my efforts to political activity aimed at strengthening the national and international image of the original democratic project of the Nicaraguan revolution.

This decision falls within the framework of the joint effort that all Nicaraguans must undertake to achieve the real unity of the various groups and organizations struggling for Nicaragua's liberation. Within the democratic framework of our struggle, this effort should be unceasing, sincere, and responsible. I have submitted for the consideration of the Costa Rican president my request to dedicate myself to the civic-political activities permitted by Costa Rican law and its neutrality statute. I promise to respect them firmly.

[Signed] Adolfo Chamorro Cesar [end recording]

The ARDE spokesmen confirmed that Chamorro is not leaving ARDE; He will merely be involved in the organization's political activities.

CASTRO DISCUSSES THIRD WORLD DEBT, OTHER ISSUES

PA200035 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0030 GMT 20 Jul 85

["Question-and-answer session" held by President Fidel Castro on 18 July at the Palace of Conventions in Havana at the conclusion of the Latin American and Caribbean trade union conference on foreign debt -- recorded]

[Text] [Castro] Comrades, I can do two things. I can go to the podium and make a speech [laughter] or I can stay here and hold a dialogue with you. There possibly, I might tell you the things that appear most important and those points that require further clarification will be explained. Each issue will be surmised almost by chance and each issue will involve things that might worry you, or in which you might be quite interested. For this reason, I would rather have a dialogue. In talks with various delegates, I have found that they have questions, that they want information, or to listen to another viewpoint. We may even depart from the traditional because during the past several days you have listened to many speeches, although some of these speeches were very good. I have also delivered many speeches this year. Therefore, I would be happy if you agreed to hold a dialogue. [applause] In this case, we would have to ask Comrade Veiga to preside over this dialogue with full participation if this is possible. The dialogue should proceed in an orderly manner and have a time limit, not that I am imposing it, but when the hours pass, you become tired and I also become tired. We all become tired. For a time limit, we will have 2 hours and if you can stand more, 1 more hour. [laughter] And for a limit to questions, well, I suppose we will have between 15 and 20 questions. If you agree, we will begin immediately. [applause]

[Veiga] First, we have Comrade Angelino Garzon, secretary general of the Trade Union Confederation of Colombian Workers. Comrade Banzo Palomino wants to make a proposal.

[Palomino] I would say, why not combine the two ideas that Fidel presented, namely, that we listen to some of his opinions on the assembly and then combine them later with several questions. I feel it is important to listen to Fidel's views and then we can have questions and statements.

[Castro] I could make some final statements from here. It is not necessary to go to the podium. First I will answer your questions and then give you some brief final words on those things that have not been included in the answers.

[Veiga] Right. Comrade Garzon.

[Garzon] Taking advantage of his presence at this conference, I want to ask Comrade Commander Fidel Castro his views and feelings regarding the nature of the conference, its deliberations and discussions as well as its conclusions and the outlook for this work.

[Castro] It is diffuclt to say something that has not been said. Some of these views were presented during this event or in an act of Havana. However, I will express some personal views and observations; in other words, differences that could exist within political views and various stances, as Veiga said. He even spoke of religious criteria, and I do not think that was even a topic. The differences can be political, oppositional, or ideological. I saw that in all the speeches, despite everything, the nature of the workers, laborers, and peasants was reflected -- those people closely linked to the rank and file who know the problems and the suffering of the men and women, of the people, and, above all, of the workers. It was very interesting.

There was a great community of feeling; common things prevailed in such a way that differences could barely be perceived or were imperceptible. My attention was drawn to the delegates' intellectual level, their understanding of the background of the problems, of directly getting to the point, even though there were some speeches that required this gavel; I don't know what you call this gavel in conference, or the clock.

I have participated in many meetings of all types -- meetings of heads of state, the Nonaligned Movement, the United Nations, and many others. In addition, I was able to appreciate the preparation of those who met here and those who spoke. I admired them when I saw how they were able, at a particular moment and on short notice when regulations began to be applied more rigorously, to adapt quickly. In a short time, 10 minutes or less, they were able to make interesting, brilliant speeches. I honestly feel I have not missed a single word spoken during this meeting. I don't remember any other meeting or assembly in which such excellent statements have been made. In addition, I was able to appreciate firm, solid views, character, and strength. I don't want to mention any other sector of society. For instance, I won't talk about students. Recently women made a great demonstration similar to this one, which amazed us. I can tell you that I have not participated in any other meeting more interesting or with more quality -- because of the delegates' participation -- than this meeting. In addition, I can say that as a general rule, the speeches were good. They had content, ideas, and some were really brilliant. As for the document, we might conclude that this document was impossible considering the extreme breadth of the meetings and the diversity of the trends and ideas represented here. Actually producing a document such as this one seems like a miracle, yet it is not a miracle. It is the result of a sense of responsibility and earnestness, as well as the commitment of those present.

I think this view is shared by all of you, as you gave proof of this when you approved this document at the end with such emotion and enthusiasm. From the previous discussion, or from the discussion at noon today, and in this session, the document was improved.

We are all aware that it is not perfect, but then there is never a perfect document. However, in view of the conditions, the circumstances, the broadness of this meeting, and the diversity of currents, I think this meeting has been quite successful, that it will have an impact not only in Latin America but in Asia and Africa as well; the ideas that have been suggested here will have an impact on world public opinion, on the industrialized world. It will have an impact in Africa, in Asia, and everywhere else. It is not a manifesto, it is not a proclamation; it is merely an act reflecting what has been discussed here, the thoughts that have been raised here.

I think that you have fulfilled the spirit with which this meeting was called, in the sense that there would be attempts to avoid any step or measure that might give the impression we had formed an organization or were disavowing any of the existing organizations. This document has merely gathered the spirit, the ideas that prevailed during the conference, and although it is merely a document, I think it will be one of the acts with greater repercussions that have ever been seen.

I have been associated with such problems for a long time, and I have never seen anything this clear, so legible and effective. In other words, I feel we have a document that fully meets the spirit in which this meeting was called. In my view this document will have great repercussion. As I was saying, or as I meant to say, in this long process where we have been concerned with these problems, nothing has filled me with such emotion as reading this document. We have already seen the one that was read so well at noon, I think that I found the emotion shared by everyone here contagious in spite of the fact that we have been meeting here for several days in a more familiar atmosphere. Personally, Colombian companero, I was filled with emotion tonight because I feel we have taken a great step forward.

It is difficult now to speak of plans, future results, knowing that it will have great repercussions, great impact, great strength; that it will activate this movement, this struggle, and I think the repercussions will be very great and numerous. We must not forget that this conference is not the only one that has received support here. There are upcoming conferences being organized in Bolivia, and the one that will be organized in the southern cone. It is possible that the 23d [23 October 1985], a day of protest or a day of struggle -- or how was it that you named it? -- a day of continental action against the foreign debt and its catastrophic results -- might also be a day not only for workers and labor union organizations, but also for the student organizations, the women's groups, the professionals' groups, of professors, of the political organizations, also. It would not be strange if many political organizations were to support this action and the effect of this agreement were multiplied, should that day become one of continual action by all the mass and political organizations.

In a few days, there will be a very large meeting here in Havana. That meeting will be even larger than this meeting, because this one was broad, but it gathered labor unions and workers. The forthcoming meeting will be a broad meeting including political parties of various political ideologies, of different social sectors. The meeting to be held on 30 [July] will be attended by parties of the left, center, and some conservative parties; there will be scientists, intellectuals -- I am told this is still up in the air, but I assume that in spite of that, I will not change my words one bit. [passage indistinct] [laughter, applause] Intellectuals, scientists, economists, religious sectors, students, women -- there is a group of women in Nairobi waging a great battle, and from that group, there is a group of Latin American women that will also participate in this conference, in this hemispheric dialogue beginning on 30 July -- and, of course, there will be a large and prestigious representation of workers at this conference. There will be political personalities, in other words, it will be very broad. There will be businessmen, local and foreign guests, there will even be some bankers, so they will also give their opinions and participate in the dialogue. The transnational banking sector will not be represented, neither the transnationals, nor the United States will be represented at this meeting. Imperialism will not be represented, but the event will be very broad. I have gone ahead a bit in explaining this, but it has to do with certain points of view on the strategy and tactics that we must continue to follow, and not lose.

It is going to be very interesting. It is impossible to predict how this meeting will develop right now. I have seen the meetings of women, youths, workers, but never this type of meeting. It will be a very broad meeting, with absolute democracy, absolute freedom of expression, absolute respect for the opinion of all, whatever they may be.

You will have to see how that assembly, that great assembly where there will be a dialogue, develops. We have never seen anything like it. The most we have seen are the nonaligned meetings, the meetings of heads of state. They are very heterogeneous events, too. Almost 100 countries comprise that movement. In fact, the seventh summit meetings were held in this very auditorium. They lasted almost 1 week. That event was probably the most similar to the forthcoming one, but I expect this meeting to be better than a nonaligned summit.

The dispatches spoke of a summit meeting and we immediately explained that this is not a summit meeting but a high level meeting of personalities, political leaders, union leader, and others. This is the nature of the meeting. Calling a meeting of heads of state never crossed my mind because we are not even a member of the OAS. They honorably expelled us from that organization. We do not have relations with many countries because we were the victims of isolation, a blockade, and breaking of relations. I think it would have been a little haughty and presumptuous of us to call a summit meeting of Latin American heads of state. For us, the importance of a summit is not in the ranks of those participating, but in the moral, human quality, and the popular representation of the participants. [applause]

Therefore, companeros, I believe that on the 30th we will see the repercussions of this conference. I am absolutely convinced that they will be great. I am absolutely convinced of this, but not based on dreams or something strange. I have been observing this movement, this process. The storm has been building for years and now the storm is about to unleash itself. The crisis has reached its limit, its maturity. At this moment the crisis has matured. I would like to continue, but I have tried to give you an answer and explain some other ideas.

[Veiga] Will the Mexican companero who just raised his hand please give his name?

[Sandoval] Carlos Sandoval Ramirez, of the Single Union of University Workers. Commander Fidel Castro's opinions have been very interesting. During the morning session we also received other very interesting opinions. We agree with the opinion [Castro] gave us, for example, regarding the date of the continental action. In fact, we believe that it is necessary to develop a very broad campaign to demystify the celebration of a date such as this. I believe that he correctly referred to the imperialists' efforts to continue justifying the exploitation of our peoples. However, we must clarify and establish that our motivation when we made this proposal was precisely in the sense in which Fidel Castro stated it. Our companero from the National Trade Union of Education Workers said that this date should be appropriate for the initiation of this campaign of struggle against colonialism. Of course, I believe this is what encouraged the groups of companeros who proposed this date for the continental action. Therefore, I think that there is a coincidence in Companero Fidel Castro's concern; I believe that we must clarify this and develop this campaign. Meanwhile, I would also like to state our proposal that the coincidence...

[Veiga, interrupting] I think you are making a statement rather than asking a question. [applause] To save time and make this dialogue more fruitful, I would like the companeros to directly ask their questions. I ask the companero to forgive me, but I think what he is saying is felt by all present. Therefore, I would like you to ask your question directly and concretely.

[Sandoval] You will forgive me, companero. I began from the opinion stated by Companero Fidel Castro on establishing a dialogue, which also implies the stating of certain opinions. I really wanted to refer strictly to our opinions and clarify some issues that may have been unclear. This is all I have to say. Thank you very much.

[Castro] He did not ask a question, but I understand he was referring to the proposed 12 October date. Is that not it? I spoke with you.

[Sandoval] Yes, yes exactly.

[Castro] I talked to you about that point. I can say that because of you, a third front opened today. I was thinking about that this afternoon. We already have a large, a very large front, which is the one we have discussed here. There is a second front that has opened due to the Olympics. I do not know if they shared material with you and formed two fronts. The third front opened today on the occasion of 12 October. In reality, I have been thinking about it for a long time even though I have never said anything in public. I have been thinking about this problem. I have been masticating it, but I cannot swallow it. I have my opinions regarding the issue of making an apology in defense of 12 October. Because I feel like an Indian, because I am an Indian and I belong to this group of Indians, I feel like an aborigine. I feel like all of you who feel that you are part of this land and are proud of it despite our origins, since some of us came from one area while others are from other locations. It is said that those who were here came from Siberia or China -- I do not know where they were from -- and that they arrived through the Bering Strait. They were not from here either, but they came peacefully. They had their wars among themselves, but these wars were more or less among equals until we were discovered. I say they discovered us because I feel like a part of this; I feel like an Indian. I am one of the new Indians who now face aspiring conquistadores who are more powerful with their technology and science than those who were here earlier.

Therefore, as I said, I think that it was an unfortunate or ill-fated date because it clashes with the things we value most, such as peace. We were the most peaceful people on the continent. The Aztecs and the Incas were more warlike, but the Indians here in Cuba were the most peaceful Indians that have ever existed in the world. Of course, they did not have planes, locomotives, radio, television, or even tractors, buses, and sailboats. I have always felt that the conquistadors were lucky to have landed here by mistake. Do not forget that Columbus' idea was to sail to the Indies. He had no idea that there was a continent sitting between him and the Indies. He was lucky that it was there. This also proved to be lucky for Cortez, Pizarro, and all the conquistadors.

I have read some books on the Far East of that era. Among these books is the complete and detailed book, 800 pages, on Marco Polo. What they had in the Far East were real armies of warriors; hundreds of thousands of cavalry men. If Columbus had landed in China back then, he would have been swallowed up in less than 15 minutes. They were able to conquer this hemisphere because they brought a dozen horses with them. The Indians thought that man and horse were the same animal with a strange form. The Indians would kill the horse and the man would get up and this demoralized the Indian. They would shoot at the Indians with a little cannon. However, you must remember that the Chinese had already invented gunpowder and they had armies of hundreds of thousands of men on horseback.

I also studied history, and as a child I was taught the great deeds of the Spaniards. I have read books on the conquests and have reached the conclusion that they were saved by their mistake. I can just imagine Diego Velasquez, the man who conquered Cuba by killing Indians, landing in China. I can see Pizarro and Hernan Cortez, those glorious warriors -- that is what we were taught, that they were glorious warriors yet we know what they did [sentence uncompleted] They came here with their swords and tried to bless their conquests with the cross; I have much more respect for the cross than for the sword. They came here, annihilated the people until almost nothing was left here in Cuba. However, there were 6 million Indians in Mexico and a few years after they landed there were only 2 million left. They did not exterminate all of them because they could not. They conquered, they raped, they took what they wanted, they enslaved our people, and I feel that this is a part of history that deserves to be criticized and that the conquistadors who today feel proud of what their predecessors did should be the ones to criticize and self-criticize the conquest, colonialism, and the conquistadors. The day they complete the self-criticism then we can thank them for some cultural things we inherited. However, I feel that there can be no justification of the discovery and the conquest without criticism and self-criticism. This is how I feel. I am very convinced about this, but I did not want to create a scandal about this because the struggle is about the debt. Tomorrow the international dispatches will dwell more on the debt problem than on the conference, but I am not afraid. We have three fronts and will continue to fight on all three of them. [applause]

[Veiga] Companero from Argentina, please state your name and organization.

[Hernandez] Alberto Hernandez of Cordoba, Argentina, municipal unions. Companero Fidel: Throughout their history, the Latin American countries have alternated between democratic and dictatorial regimes. At the present time there are three fledging democracies: in Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina. My question is: Do you believe that those democracies will have staying power, and what do you foresee in the future for El Salvador?

[Castro] Are you asking the question in connection of the foreign debt?

[Hernandez] It is all interrelated.

[Castro] How did the world react to the democratic openings in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil? In different ways. I believe that doubtlessly it was a democratic opening in those countries. The whole world rejoiced over this event. The horrors that happened in those three countries were known throughout the world. Especially in Argentina, repression reached unprecedented levels. Looking back through history, I cannot recall [leaves thought unfinished]. There were references to Juan Vicente Gomez, Roca in Argentina, the many tyrannies, satrapies, Marti said a lot about the last century's dictators. In this century we have Trujillo, Somoza, Carias, and many more. In conclusion, most of the Latin American countries have lived under bloody dictatorships for a long time. We had ours too, more than one. However, compared to those you had, you are olympic champions. Those are dictators trained by the CIA. They learned the science of torture. It must be said that the torturers here in Cuba were amateurs compared to the torturers that Chile, Argentina, and other countries have had.

Recently I spoke to a Uruguayan companero who was held with a mask, a hood over his head for nearly 1 year. No one can understand how men are able to endure those methods of struggle, of torture, which we could call scientific. In the times of Batista and Machado, they beat and tortured. They were not scientific torturers. But they tortured, beat, and killed with their tortures. But the methods that emerged in Latin America after the triumph of the Cuban revolution and after the Vietnam war, during which imperialism advanced its research on the science of repression and torture, were not known here -- the phenomenon of disappearances, one of the cruelest acts ever imagined. I have seen families that cannot be persuaded to lose their hope in finding their missing relatives after 15 years. I have known Guatemalan, Chilean, Argentine, Uruguayan families like this. However, it is difficult to persuade someone to lose hope and that is the way it has been for parents, brothers, and sisters. This goes on for 1, 2, 5, 10 years. There is nothing worse than the method of having people disappear. This method was used in those countries. Who suffers the most? Perhaps that human being who is abducted, tortured for 1 month, and killed. However, they left the family with that act of torture for almost the rest of their lives. It could have been a revolutionary who was consciously taking a risk, but how about his family who were victims of that atrocious method, 10 times more atrocious than the news of the death of a beloved member of the family. Who did they learn this from? Who taught all those scientific torture methods to repress our peoples, and they were widely used. The world knows of this, maybe not every horrible detail, but it is aware of this.

Therefore, the fall of each one of these bloody regimes has been welcomed with great joy, such as the victory of the Sandinist revolution and the triumph of a revolution or a democratic opening in Chile, which will be a day of great joy because no one can forget that 11 September when the legal, constitutional government elected by the people was sabotaged and destabilized by imperialism, or the manner in which it was overthrown, in which the life of a man was sacrificed, a man of great prestige. Among other things, he represented a peaceful attempt to carry out social reforms, to build socialism by peaceful means. All this meant a great hope throughout the world. Many people sympathized with it.

When a democratic opening takes place, either of two things can take place. When the democratic opening takes place, it will be welcomed with great joy throughout the world. That is the way the world welcomed the one in Argentina, in Uruguay, and in Brazil. I think the democratic opening has been a very important step, historically, in these countries, and has taken place at an exceptional moment.

I think that the economic crisis played an important role in these democratic openings. The military realized that the country was becoming ungovernable; that is the democratic opening was the result of the people's struggle at a time when the economic crisis supported the people's struggle and forced the military to give up power. That is connected, we could say, with the struggle you are now waging -- the struggle against the economic crisis, the struggle against the foreign debt. I would say that if they [military] were still there, this ongoing struggle could not have been waged 3, 4, or 5 years ago. It could not be waged then because the crisis was not that old yet and, in addition, the possibility for struggle that the workers, students, and the peasants now have in those three countries, the possibilities of expression and organization, are very valuable in this struggle.

I believe that not only does international public opinion highly value the step forward represented by the democratic opening, but that the Argentines, Uruguayans, and Brazilians of the most diverse political persuasions highly value the progress made because of the democratic opening of countries where terror reigned in the most cruel manner. I have observed this. I have the perception that even those who do not agree with the measures that have been adopted, those in the opposition who do not agree politically, highly value and have the awareness and need to preserve that opening, even though they might understand that present possibilities do not satisfy more advanced aspirations of a social and political nature.

I believe this is the feeling of practically all leftist, center, and even conservative parties with respect to those countries. Now there is a real threat. I believe this crisis is seriously affecting that process. It is affecting and will continue to affect that process increasingly because it rapidly produces a disaster for the political forces, the political leaders. Its weakening could lead to a backward movement, even though I feel that in the short term there is no threat of a coup. However, one should not discard this possibility, that is reactionary coup. There is such a great economic crisis that the military would be willing to take over the government immediately, because the countries have become ungovernable, and they know it. The economic crisis they are enduring is insoluble. I do not believe that a majority would be inclined to seek Pinochet-type solutions. However, there are some people -- you can always find crazy people -- in the United States and those other countries who feel that repression is the solution. Even Pinochet is showing his stubbornness when he wants to maintain his regime despite the more and more impossible conditions and under a situation of total isolation.

In several interviews I have said that when the economic situation is more or less normal, the number of madmen aspiring to power grows and becomes a majority. However, when the situation is as difficult as it is now, and because of the experiences those countries have lived through, I think that the madman dreaming of a coup become a minority. That is my opinion.

The situation is not the same in every country. There are some countries that are not as desperate, other countries are open to possible coups. However, I do not feel that this is the case in Uruguay or Argentina, nor is it very probable in Brazil. What I am suggesting -- and this is something I believe in -- is that this econoimc crisis could lead to social convulsions and outbreaks.

I am going to be honest with you and tell you what I told some companeros of the commission during the few minutes I spent with them to propose two or three things: It is a matter of detail. In the statistics mentioned, 40 percent seem to be at the poverty level, when the truth is that 40 percent are in the lower levels of poverty and 30 percent are below the poverty level. That adds up to 70 percent, not 40 percent. One of the technicians asked why I spoke of social outbreaks. I did this because I feel that the objective conditions for revolution in Latin American countries are advancing much faster than the subjective conditions. When you do not see the subjective conditions for social changes, in one way or another, this is an indication that the subjective conditions have not matured enough in order to talk of a possibility of a revolution.

For example, you know that a woman is pregnant, that she has a child in her womb, that she is in her fifth or sixth month of gestation, that she needs to be delivered, that a solution must be found, and that the midwives are not showing up. I cannot see the midwives of history too clearly, and this is why I say that if those objective conditions continue to mature too fast, social outbreaks will occur. But we cannot say that revolutions will occur. However, it is possible and even probable for a social outbreak to turn into a revolution. During several interviews I have said that generalized social outbreaks are of a rather revolutionary nature.

There have been social outbreaks. Santo Domingo experienced a social outbreak. It has not been a catastrophic outbreak yet, but a social outbreak did occur when the IMF forced the Santo Domingo government to implement certain economic measures. It was then that a spontaneous uprising occurred in Santo Domingo. The government found itself in need, a sad and very censurable need, of sending out their troops -- the soldiers and policemen -- against the people. They massacred more than 100 people. These were not revolutionaries; they were men and women, youths and housewives from among the people who took to the streets spontaneously. The government found itself in need of wounding hundreds of persons -- it was said that some 400 or 500 people were wounded -- but the official reports say that 60 people were killed. I was told by very serious and well-informed people from Santo Domingo that more than 100 people were killed. It is a pretty serious situation when a government has to send out its Army and police to open fire on the people, wound hundreds, and kill more than 100. That is serious. This has left quite a tense situation in Santo Domingo.

Even in Panama some measures the IMF tried to implement led to mass demonstrations. What we did not see there was an Army with the spirit of repressing the people. There were no killings and this is something that must be taken into account.

In Guatemala the IMF tried to apply some measures. Despite the repression experienced in that country, those measures had to be corrected, they had to be withdrawn. In Bolivia similar measures unleashed mass movements. This is all very recent. The peasants and miners mobilized and a prerevolutionary situation existed. Fortunately it did not end in killings. The situation varies from place to place. I asked myself about these economic problems. Only with blood and fire can the IMF measures be implemented in any country.

I do not imagine, nor can I imagine, the governments with a democratic opening -- in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil -- sending their armies or police against the people.

Trujillo has been long gone from the Dominican Republic. They have had a little of everything in that country. After Trujillo they even experienced a revolution, an uprising of the people that was drowned in blood by imperialism and its soldiers -- with 40,000 Yankee soldiers who landed in the Dominican Republic in 1965. After this a number of constitutional governments followed. But it seems they have forgotten what happened back then. Therefore we see that this type of situation can lead to very serious economic crises that can end in revolutions. So we see that the objective conditions necessary for a revolution are being created.

Furthermore, in these countries the possibilities of serious social outbreak is much greater than the possibility of a rightist coup. When such a situation occurs -- and the Bolivians are very aware of this -- then these crises create certain psychological conditions among the people, among the masses, and the possibilities for participation in the struggle open up. This is not only among the civilians, but also among the military. There is nothing to be afraid of; it does exist. Just look at what happened in Santo Domingo.

Who began the uprising in Santo Domingo? Who was Camano? Camano was simply a man who was educated in Trujillo's military academies. His father was one of Trujillo's soldiers He was trained in the United States. And I can assure you that the Camano I met was an upright man, a revolutionary. [applause]

Camano was a real patriot, and like him there were many who fought with him. This why it hurts, that a man like Camano should immolate himself. Under truly unfavorable conditions, only with his honor and his spirit of struggle, he tried to renew the struggle in Santo Domingo. He was one of the last of the great heroes of the Dominican people.

But also Trujillo, not Torrijos; there is an enormous difference between these two names. [Torrijos [applause] received training in the United States. Imperialism felt that it had a praetorian guard there who would defend its interests and defend the canal. However, Torrijos was the standard-bearer of the demands for the return of the canal. He was not only the standard-bearer, but I know very well that Torrijos and the top-ranking National Guard chiefs had decided to take over the canal. If the canal had not been returned through negotiations, they would have taken it over by force. I want you to know, and I am disclosing no secrets because he said it here on a visit to Cuba during an event held at Moncada Barracks, he expressed his appreciation for the times that we had voiced our concern because of the type of radical expressions they were making. I could see clearly what was happening and what would have happened had they not had the patience and attempted to take over the canal by force.

Perhaps that would have been best for imperialism. I urged them to remain calm, to be patient. Fortunately, what happened later proved that we were right. We do not believe in lighting a fire for fun. We like to think out problems in cold blood; we are not philosophers; we are not undecisive people. Many times in our lives we have had to adopt decisions and have done so resolutely. However, this does not mean that we are hot heads nor does it mean that a people must be sacrificed in order to create problems for the United States. We have always upheld this policy, we concern ourselves for our friends, in spite of what may happen. We think about what is good for our firends, not what is good for us, what is good for them because this, I understand, is what internationalism stands for. This is what real friends are all about.

We could see the trouble brewing; statements were being made and these statements were made publicly. They kept saying that if the United States did not give them back their canal they would take it by force. I felt fear; I know those imperialist gentlemen very well; I know their history and their tricks. They could have used the excuse of a provocation to destroy the Panamanian process. Every statement made by them brought them closer to this. A trap could have easily been set. They could have told the Panamanians that they would not give up thecanal through neogtiations. leading to a confrontation in which they would use all their techniques, means, and resources, against a relatively small Armed Forces. But I was aware of the spirit that encouraged those people, and they were encouraged by a soldier.

Well, he was from the military. With this, I am telling you that we should not discard the military, merely because he is from the military. I realize the military have made many things in this hemisphere, and I realize that they have been used many times. But I also think that among the military, in some countries more than in other countries, there might be militarymen who have the same feelings as you, and I, and many of us present here. I am not excluding them.

Everything is possible when social turmoil occurs. Everything is possible, and I think we should not exclude anyone as potential protagonists of social changes and even as the revolutionaries I think they are. I recall my experience, and I recall our own struggle when we faced the army for 25 months and fought many battles with those militarymen. We suffered many casualties, and many defeats. I do not know if all of you know how this war ended. I am not going to go back into history. When the military realized they were defeated, many people wanted to conspire with us, even serving as henchmen. We set a rule not to get involved with those people. We did not accept coups. We struggled against coups all the time. We told them: Come on and join us.

In the end, a group of officers and even a prestigious officer requested a meeting and said they had lost the war. They wanted to end that war. I suggested saving a group of the officers because I knew the enemy and knew that not all of them were murderers, henchmen, or torturers. Several officers surrendered after fighting arduously against us and later joined us honestly and sincerely. We knew they had been brave in the fighting, that they had been efficient officers, that they had been our enemies, yet we accepted them. However, when that high-ranking officer, chief of the troops operating against us, came to tell us that they had lost the war, I said: Let us try to save the good officers; let us jointly promote an uprising. This is what we proposed to them so they could vindicate themselves. We already knew we were going to organize a totally new army. We were very clear about this. We would have liked to save some of those people.

At our meeting we agreed there would be an uprising in the Santiago de Cuba garrison on 31 December 1958. However, this officer insisted that he wanted to travel to Havana. I kept telling him not to go to Havana because it was risky. He told me: No, I have certain contacts; there is no problem. He also had a brother who was head of the Matanzas regiment, 100 km from Havana. This was what he alleged, and he insisted on leaving. Finally I told him: You are free to leave, but in my opinion you should not do it. Moreover, since you are leaving, I will warn you about three things: We do not want any contacts with the U.S. Embassy; we do not want a coup staged in the capital; and we do not want you to help Batista escape. I told him this very clearly and repeated it to him. I said goodbye to him and we waited for news, as (?reportedly there would be) some strange news and we had to be patient.

We were already preparing the operations to attack Santiago de Cuba. At that point we had 17,000 soldiers surrounded and we were about to attack the Santiago de Cuba garrison. We had postponed the attack for a few days because we had been waiting, as this meeting (?had lasted) 5 or 6 days; it would be necessary to look up the exact dates in the archives. The officer came to Havana and did the very three things he had promised not to do: He contacted the embassy, staged a coup in the capital, and saw Batista off at the military airport. [laughter]

We immediately denounced this coup and called for a general strike throughout the country. Now you will see how workers are and why we have such faith in them. The honest trade union cadres had all been swept away and in their place had been established cadres who had sold out to the regime, cadres imposed by the regime through blood and fire. They were in charge of all union posts and all federations. When through Radio Rebelde we called for a general, revolutionary strike, the entire country was paralyzed: all transportation services, all factories, all communications. Only the radio and television stations continued functioning, and they were put in network with Radio Rebelde. [applause] From that moment on the revolutionary command's declarations and instructions were the only thing heard throughout the country. That was tremendous. We immediately denounced the coup and instructed our entire force.

I want you to know that we had 3,000 armed men at that point, while they numbered 80,000. But we told them to go ahead with all the operations and to continue with the fire, not giving a single minute of truce. We also experienced a process, when suddenly they began... [changes thought] I gathered all garrison officers and spoke to them, and they joined us. Twenty-four hours later, that is on 2 January, or rather 3 January to be more exact, I arrived in the Bayamo Garrison, where there were [figure indistinct] soldiers. They had been fighting against us in fierce battles but respected us (?as an adversary) who knew how to fight but did not know how to kill a prisoner, who never accepted a prisoner [as heard], who never abandoned an enemy soldier wounded in battle, who cured them and saved many lives. That earned us prestige and respect. And I want to tell you that I met with that entire troop en route to Havana where things were not clear, and the entire troop joined us. I was on my way to Havana with 1,000 rebel soldiers and 2,000 of Batista's soldiers. They were bringing tanks, cannon, artillery, (?everything), and I am sure that if there had been any fighting to do, they would have fought fiercely, because they would have wanted to do in a few minutes what they had not done in the past; they would have wanted to vindicate themselves.

Therefore I have experience in those things and I discard no one. I discard a torturer or a murder, but I never discard any man in advance, even if he has been an adversary. I feel deep contempt for those who kill prisoners or commit murder, but I do not feel contempt for the man who fights openly on a battlefield. This is why I tell you, from our own experience, from what we have seen, that I do not discard anyone. This might be a good chance to say this, as Comrade Veiga told me that some people did not understand this and I replied that it is only logical that some do not understand because there is a terrible allergy to the military.

I have remembered this and related it to the question and to the current situation. I think in the end the struggle to bring about change will have to be broad; it cannot be waged by certain sectors only. [applause] The lesson to be learned from all this is that objective conditions are rapidly advancing toward social changes, including revolutionary social changes. The subjective conditions, on the contrary, are very slow in coming. There is a creature in the belly of this hemisphere, but the midwives, those who will help this lady give birth, are not yet visible. Nor is this the first time. When Latin America's independence occurred -- the historical one, the one we all revere, the first independence -- the necessary subjective conditions did not exist either. Certain exceptional objective conditions had been created. Napoleon Bonaparte, with delusions of grandeur, invaded Spain and turned a fool into the king of Spain. Yes, it was like the Yankees today; they do this kind of thing. Well, the Spanish people rebelled against that fool and against foreign occupation, and I want you to know that the first independence movements in Latin America were acts of loyalty to the metropolis and to the king imprisoned by Napoleon. Those loyal to the king began fighting.

Subjective conditions had not been there, but they emerged. No one knew about Simon Bolivar, Sucre, San Martin, Hidalgo, Morelos, or O'Higgins, but these men emerged. They were not militarymen. Some of them had received some training, but a priest here, a militaryman there -- they were the ones who began the first independence struggles. So, when the objective conditions emerge, sooner or later the subjective conditions follow. At this point they are truly delayed in relation to the objective conditions. This is with regard to revolutionary changes.

But these are theoretical matters. At this point we are neither promoting nor proposing revolutionary changes. We are not proposing that. Rather, with these ideas and views we are proposing a national liberation movement, a struggle for independence because, among other things, we have lost our independence. It does not exist in objective reality; independence is a joke. So the struggle we are proposing against the debt, the struggle for a new international economic order, the struggle for Latin America's economic integration, is a struggle for the liberation of our hemispheric peoples. Due to the existence of similar circumstances, it is also a struggle for tbe liberation of the entire Third World.

This is what is being proposed: a struggle for national liberation. We are not proposing revolutions. What we are proposing is a struggle the way we see it at this point, a struggle for national liberation that must be very broad. We are proposing a broad struggle. We are proposing a strategy marked by unity both on the inside and on the outside: inside those countries where there are conditions of unity -- and it must be very clear that these conditions do not exist in all countries -- and unity among Latin American and Third World countries in the struggle for their independence.

This debt, this economic crisis, and this system imposed on our countries have made us completely dependent; they have enslaved us more than we were under the foolish king or the other Spanish kings, many of whom were also fools. But at least they did not rule us like the Yankees rule us today. They would send a viceroy and occasionally an inspector or judge, or someone. But they had no news; it took them 3 months to hear from us. Imperialism, however, knows about us around the clock. It knows about us every hour. Unfortunately, we know about them every day, every hour, every minute, every second, because we feel the weight of their oppression, especially here in our countries. And how we feel it! Imperialism tries to impose a culture and an ideology on us, and how! The Spanish king would occasionally send a letter that was published in some gazette, but these people try to speak 24 hours a day on radio, television, and in movies. They sell us thousands of alienating movies, programs, and series. It is incredible how they have invaded even the souls and brains of men, they who speak of indoctrination and brainwashing and yet in history there has never been a similar attempt to brainwash millions of people like that of the imperalists who seek to brainwash all Latin Americans. [applause]

Through the most sophisticated means they try to tell us what to wear, what toothbrush to use, where to go on vacation, what cigars to smoke, everything. It is an incredible invasion unlike that of Spain, an influence unlike that of Spain. We are facing a challenge bigger than any faced before. Fortunately, I think we are more aware and are so different from them and have such characteristics that we can wage this struggle. I am sure we can wage it. This is a struggle for national liberation. We are advocating a struggle for national liberation. It would be completely contrary to a correct strategy and tactic for us to be proposing at the same time a struggle for national liberation, which must be very broad and must include all sectors. [sentence as heard] I say this literally: This struggle must be completely broad or we will not win. Either we are underestimating imperialism and its forces or we are overestimating our own forces, and I will do neither. We estimate them correctly if we manage to create a struggle and a very broad front that does not exclude any social sector. I am excluding no one. Those who wish to be excluded should exclude themselves. Let them exclude themselves, but we must not be the ones to do it. [applause]

This is a historical moment of great importance because the time has come for every man and woman in this hemiphere, regardless of social status, to make certain definitions. I think that they have the potential to represent an immense majority if we can take this message to them, if we know how to use all the reason that is on our side. Then I think [the struggle] would be very broad.

However, I repeat, at this point each man and woman must be given the chance to either be with his or her homeland or against it. Let them choose. At this time of definition, let each person say if a tribute must be paid to the empire or to the homeland. I am talking about the homeland in a very broad sense. We must not exclude anyone. Each one must define himself. There will be those who will define themselves. We know there are certain minority sectors, ones must directly connected with imperialism and its financial sectors. We know they exist and they will be on the side of imperialism, but they will constitute a minority. They must be a minority. If a larger number should go to the side of imperialism then we will begin losing the battle. That might happen if we are not broad. That might happen if we are sectarian, and we also have a vast experience against sectarianism, the experience of our own revolution.

When our revolution triumphed, our movement had the support of the immense majority of the people, a support we earned with the war and by pointing out the way and showing possibilities under conditions that differed completely from the current crisis in Latin America, under conditions that suggested there was no solution. A small group of us began to prepare, organize, and struggle on the basis of a number of possibilities and principles, which life and history have proven correct. We even had to move away from some historical views, according to which revolution could take place only if there was a big crisis. Ours occurred when there was no big crisis. It was launched by a group of men who had to overthrow a government. To do this they did not have one professional soldier, a cent, or a single rifle. If some thought we were crazy, I think they had every reason to think so. They were objectively right; subjectively they were wrong.

Nonetheless, we undertook that struggle, and it got us an almost total support from the people. I used to say that our organization was a small river that became an Amazon River at the time of victory. We never had any hegemonic tendencies. There were other smaller organizations, weaker groups, yet we never thought of saying this is our victory, ours alone, and you cannot touch it. On the contrary, we began calling on everyone, trying to unite everyone. Not only did we call on the communists, who had been fighting with us in the mountains, we also called on the student organization, which had maintained certain rivalries with us. We asked them to join us. However, it was not only that organization; I want you to know that we called on everyone, except for Batista's people. We gave everyone the chance to join the revolution. The polls indicated that the revolution had 96 percent support. We can indeed say that our movement involved 96 percent of the people. I am not exaggerating. However, we were not counting the number of people who were joining us. We were concerned with a principle, the principle of unity. If you do not appreciate the unity principle, you are rejecting some sectors and seeking hegemony, and you wind up dividing your own organization. So we were not looking at the quantitative value of the unity principle but rather at its qualitative value. If the others had a three, or a two [not further explained] We appreciated that very much.

There were certain organizations here, old political parties that at least confronted Batista and that we at one time accepted as opponents, and we gave all of them a chance. Some of them had 100 or 200 people. I tell you that the revolution gained such strength that the other parties had no more than 100 militants each. We let everyone join us. Those who excluded themselves from the revolution were the ones who chose to do so, or who thought we would not survive, or that all of us were crazy, or that the Yankees would crush us in a matter of 15 days with an economic blockade, the sugar quota, or their threats. They thought that would end us, yet here we are. The unity principle was a fundamental element of our force at all times, as well as our antisectarianism. We had to fight sectarianism first of all among ourselves. Those who had been in the mountains the prestigious guerrillas, displayed sectarian feelings toward those who had remained in the lowlands carrying out other tasks and waging other struggles. Then there was sectarianism from our organization toward the other groups. Other forms of sectarianism developed later. The Popular Socialist Party, that is, the communist party, also generated a certain sectarianism, which in all truth had begun earlier. Their sectarianism did not emerge at that point. This problem had already emerged in clandestine fashion.

Our situation was as follows: Our organization's oldest militants had been involved 5 or 6 years. In truth 6 years and several months had elapsed between the 10 March coup and the victory of the revolution. From the initial small group that began these activities, there were probably no more than five of us who had been militants for 6 years at the time that the revolution triumphed. Well, 6 years or so, and that is how we gradually organized the movement. But when the revolution triumphed, the immense majority of the people had been militants for 2 years, for 1 year, for 1 month only, a huge heterogeneous mass of people.

Although our Moncada program was very advanced and quite radical, apparently there were people who thought that was another story, another program in this country. They did not take our first revolutionary program seriously. Yet we were trained revolutionaries, with very clear ideas. We were Marxist-Leninists even before 10 March [year not given] I want this to be known. I have said this before. We were that from the very beginning. [applause]

A socialist program could not be presented, it would have been unreal. And we presented the program that was needed at the time. That was our program. We did not lie. We thought that was what had to be done. It was the first stage of the revolution, and we fulfilled it. However, when the program was being fulfilled, and all the properties of all the embezzlers had been confiscated, and all the harsh measures had been implemented against the transnational enterprises; and when we carried out the housing and agrarian reforms, and a series of interests started to be affected; then, when many discovered that this was not going to be a government of the rich, but a government of the people, and when, for the first time in over 4 centuries, a government allied with the people had been born, then the people became more militant with the government. However, a group of sectors that wanted other things began to separate themselves from the revolution because they thought they thought they could manage this government and thought the Yankees were going to domesticate us quickly.

Then we had to organize a defense and many other things. Our fighters were in the We needed cadres. Who had been militant for 25, 30 years? The Popular Socialist Party. And we had it, we contributed most of the cadres to the state, practically all in the Army. And in the state security we contributed most of the cadres. Many times, when a militant was needed, in the midst of confusion and of the heavy campaigns by imperialism, we called on the militants, the communists. Because, they were militants with much more experience than us, with about 30, 25, or 20 years, while our militants [changes thought] but that was a correct thing, which was necessary, also led to sectarianism on the part of the Popular Socialist Party, which was still an independent party before we united under one single organization.

We went through all those experiences, but we managed. And when there was sectarianism in our ranks, we defeated it; and when there was sectarianism in some other allied organization, we also defeated it with the correct methods, and we immediately prevented that antisectarianism committed by old communist militants from becoming an anticommunist sectarianism, an anticommunist feeling.

Therefore, we have a long experience in matters concerning the struggle against hegemonism, against sectarianism, in the unyielding defense of the principle of unity. I think this has been a decisive factor in reaching our current status today, so the revolution will have the strength it has today. It has managed to resist all the attacks of imperialism, and it is prepared, today more than ever before to resist any adventure that might be attempted. Furthermore, if we are able to play a role in this struggle, with the other Latin American peoples, it is because we have a solid country, a united people, a tremendous strength, and a good social and economic situation. That is what allows us to make a contribution to this struggle of the brother countries of Latin America.

However, this is no coincidence. This is the result of a series of tactics and principles that we have consistently applied. I think the revolution has been successful in all of the fields it has entered. This has been the result of the fact that we have consistently followed these principles. For example, there is the principle of collective leadership, which we have always enforced. From the very beginning, when I began in the revolutionary struggle, I began organizing a nucleus. When the revolution was successful, there was a nucleus of leadership made up of the various trends. This is the principle of collective leadership. This is a collective responsibility without the idea that each one does not have a responsibility, a sphere of action where one makes decisions.

In the struggle against cult worship -- and I say this sincerely, against caudillismo, against all of those evils -- there has been an unyielding struggle to create a solid revolution, based on principles, to create an awareness among the people. The unity of our people is not based on idol worship or servile cult worship. It is based on a political awareness. The relations of our revolution's leadership with the people are based on awareness, principles, and loyalty that have been proven for over 26 years; it is based on the fact that we have never told the people a lie. [applause]

There are many principles prevailing here that can explain the strength of the revolution over the power of our enemies. Among these I think, that in spite of all of slanders, and the very strict way the principles of war were enforced, we never murdered or tortured a prisoner. This has been followed throughout 26 years. This revolution has been slandered. Speak to any of the 10 million citizens of this country, and you will observe that human rights are guaranteed in this country, not by mere words or an article of the Constitution. It is the awareness of all revolutionaries, of all the peoples. The people know what they cannot do. They know how to respect others. A prisioner has never been beaten here. This country has been the victim of slander, and you can ask any of the 10 million citizens of this country, because a citizen of this country would never tolerate that.

It is not that we are acting in a certain manner, out of respect for the law. We do this, because there is an awareness that does not allow theft, deceit, crime, or abuse of authority; nor is it tolerated. Therefore, the strength of our revolution, which seems to be a miracle but is not, is the result of a policy of principles that we have consistently applied during 26 years. The revolution is now 26 and 1/2 years old.

I am saying all this, and you must excuse me because some points here are related and it is somewhat delicate to discuss one aspect without discussing the others. I think it would be very dangerous if the enemy could launch a campaign saying we are promoting subversion in Latin America, or that we are promoting a social revolution in Latin America. That is why we have to be very clear, and we cannot allow Latin American peoples to be confused, the parties to be confused, anyone in Latin America to be confused. We are not promoting that, nor do we consider that we have a right to promote it.

That is why I am very careful in all of my statements on the issue of a joint action, on matters that concern us all, by not presenting internal measures. It is up to each country to apply its own internal measures, because that should be the sovereign decision of each people, of each country. If we begin now to meddle in what has to be done, on whether something has to be nationalized, the internal measures that have to be taken, we would then be intervening or meddling in the internal affairs of each country. I believe there is something we should respect among ourselves, and that is the principle of sovereignty of each. He who does not respect the sovereignty of each country and wants to meddle in everything in the lives of all citizens in this hemisphere is the imperialist. He is the imperialist. [applause]

On the contrary, it is to our advantage to raise the principle of sovereignty, which does not conflict with the struggle for economic integration. Let us not talk about political integration, because that is more distant. However, I think the time has come to talk about economic integration, but respecting the sovereignty of each country. That is why every time I have been handling that problem, I have tried to avoid at all costs even a suggestion of what should be done inside the country. That is up to the people of that country to decide what measures should be taken in each one of those countries. It is not our business to be suggesting, or advising, or what have you. There is the principle of internal unity, of unity outside, of joint action, all of these things. That is why we try not to go into these problems.

However, you asked the question, and I have tried to give you some answers. If we were in an academic meeting, I could speak a great deal more about this, of what I think. At this time, I do not think it would even be useful to say what I think. Furthermore, it is not necessary. I think that what we, the socialists, think is well known. We are socialists and revolutionaries, and have absolute faith because our faith in socialism has not diminished with time; it has become stronger. Life has taught us what socialism can do, and that we can do a great deal more than what any of us dreamed that we could do when we began the revolution.

As I have said, in our case, experience, events, and reality have been above our dreams. We are not disappointed revolutionaries, nor retreating revolutionaries. I believe that we are much more revolutionary than when we began, and in 1985 we are much more **revolutionary**, as well as ideologically and politically firmer than we were in 1959. We have not taken one single step backward. [applause].

Academically we can discuss all of these problems. However, we are not here for academic discussions. In my opinion we are entangled in a great struggle, and we must be wise in handling how it is focused and developed.

Very well, here we have discussed national liberation, the liquidation of our debt, struggling for a new international economic order, and struggling for integration. Undoubtedly the best bearers of these banners are the workers. If one day we have integration in this hemisphere, it is because the workers have borne these banners. I believe that the hands that can most firmly raise these banners are the workers' hands, even though they may not be in power. The fact is that the workers do not govern. In Latin America this is their reality, and we must begin with realities. I am not saying that government must be conquered first. No, I believe that we cannot wait for revolutions in order to wage these wars. If I thought that the revolution must come first, if I said that here and we believe it, I really do not believe it would be realistic. Perhaps we are approaching the hour of revolutions.

It is difficult to speak of social revolutions when we do not even have independence. What happens? Cuba, the small country and the elongated island shaped like an alligator, makes its revolution and then comes the shark, the ferocious tiger, or the elephant that wants to trample on it, and Cuba sits there alone. In reality we were alone from the viewpoint of the solidarity of the Latin American governments, not that of the peoples. We spoke with reason and fairness of the workers and students who died, and of the people's firm manifestation and struggle. However, we were alone.

What has this meant? How much effort has been made to carry out what our people have carried out? This has been a great feat, and not my feat, but a feat by our people who managed to maintain the banner of the revolution with their strength. They maintained it, maintain it, and will continue to do so. [applause]

However, we were charged the price of dependence and the price of independence. They took away our sugar quotas and the markets; they took everything away. The prohibited anyone from bringing parts for machines. On blockade issues, we are experts. We are experts in antiblockade measures because the workers were capable of keeping all of our machines in working order: sugar processing plants and factories without a single part from the United States. With pieces of metal and lathes, the workers fabricated the parts, and the country was maintained. We do not even know how. We have not forgotten those days when we had nothing, not a single one. Of course, our internationalist spirit was not only influenced by our conscience, but also the solidarity of the socialist countries. We were, are, and will always be grateful to them. [applause]

As I told several newsmen, we have been criticized often. They say we depend on the USSR and the socialist countries. I say that we were fortunate to have someone we could depend on and to at least have a market for our sugar and oil and so that we could have medicine and food for our people. We could not obtain it anywhere else. I say how fortunate. They have nothing else to say. They do not speak of the blockade and the aggressions. They are not capable of knowing this country's degree of dignity and independence. They will never understand it because an independent country is capable of defending and respecting itself. This is the basis of independence. [applause] They will never understand this.

As I said yesterday to a group of companeros, we are the most independent country in the world. There is no other country like ours. We are the country in the world that depends on Yankee imperialism the least, the one that depends the least on the United States. The other countries have a market there and make purchases from that country. We cannot sell anything to that country, not even a gram of sugar. We cannot even purchase medicine in that country, not even an aspirin. They have given us... [rephrases] and we tell them thank you. They have taught us so much. We are grateful to them because today we are very independent. [applause] We wanted to be independent, but we never imagined that we were going to be so independent. They made us, they forced us to become that way. We have discovered that true independence is not depending on that powerful and abusive country in the least; on that powerful and exploitive country; on that powerful and aggressive country.

Of course, I say that the workers are the most trusted standard bearers, the firmest bearers of these banners, and we know that they can carry them very far. This does not mean they must try to walk alone or ignore reality. I am simply saying that they must be the standard bearers, firm and intransigent, and that they must seek unity in this struggle. They must seek support or, as this happy phrase coined by a Guatemalan companero who spoke so brilliantly yesterday stated: They must all stand up; they must all be called and not even one or two of us must remain behind. This means that we must not remove anyone from this struggle because we need every ounce of energy from the very last man who is able and willing to be with us if we want to win this battle. [applause]

Forgive me for my lengthy responses. I will try to make them short. [laughter] Let us see, the companero back there with the beard and the yellow shirt. Identify yourself. Hello, we cannot hear you, companero. Press the button.

[Villegas] Mario Villegas of the Venezuelan delegation. I would like to ask Commander Fidel Castro the following: I have been closely following the statements you have been making during the past few months regarding the foreign debt problem. I am especially pleased with the way Commander Castro has pointed out the benefits Cuba receives from its trade with the socialist countries, particularly the USSR, and the good credit Cuba has received from the socialist area. I want to ask you if it would be possible to transfer some of these benefits to the Latin American countries through a finance mechanism from the socialist countries to the Latin American nations. Also, what role would the socialist countries play in the Latin American countries' struggle against the foreign debt and for their national liberation?

[Castro] Other companeros have asked me several questions on the new order, and I tried to explain to them that this new order includes a series of demands made by the Third World countries. The UN declaration and the implementation of an action plan for the establishment of a new order is based on general ideas, but these ideas are important, and they must continue to be developed. Among these ideas is the issue of unequal trade. This is one of the problems that affects us the most.

Yesterday a representative from Guyana or some Caribbean country -- he spoke English, that much I remember -- mentioned some statistics that I presented during the non-aligned conference held in New Delhi. This involved the phenomenon of unequal trade and what it means. For the people to understand this, specific examples must be given. He compared sugar and other products. I will mention two or three I consider very useful.

For example, take coffee, an important product for many Latin American, Central American, and South American countries such as Colombia, Brazil, and others. For many of these countries it is an important export product. Here we see that in 1960 you could buy 37.3 tons of fertilizer, a product needed by the producer, with a ton of coffee. However, in 1982 -- and the situation then was not as serious as in 1985; I presented these statistics in 1983 -- you could only buy 15.8 tons of fertilizer with a ton of coffee, which is less than half with the same amount of coffee.

Another important product the representative mentioned is jute. This is very important export product for many Third World countries. I want to say that in 1959 you could buy a 7- or 8-ton truck, a medium-sized truck, with 6 tons of jute; by late 1982, you needed 26 tons of jute to purchase the same truck.

Another product he mentioned -- I think he mentioned it, and I think it speaks for itself — was a piece of medical equipment. We have already discussed fertilizer and a truck, and we continue to speak of many other things like a tractor, industrial equipment, many things, and it is all the same.

In 1959, with a ton of copper wire one could buy 39 X-ray tubes. In late 1982 only 3 X-ray tubes could be bought with the same amount of copper. This is the same for any type of equipment: dental, surgical, or any type of medical equipment that they produce and we must import. Unfortunately we do not produce such equipment. We have not developed to that extent; nor do they want us to develop. When they present a technology it is strictly in a transnational way to make money. They are not really interested. They probably need to manufacture more medical equipment, but they make us manufacture cars. Then they turn around and charge us for tires, spare parts, and fuel. We are forced to plant sugarcane to feed the cars, as one of the representatives here said. The boys are dying of hunger. [sentence as heard] They must be because that industry, organized and developed by a transnational, is based on the production of cars. They hinder the development of countries. Perhaps other things were more important for the country, such as medical equipment. But no, they decided what kind of development we had to carry out. This is what unequal trade is all about and this is what is happening.

I give you sugar as an example. In 1960 we could buy a 180-ton bulldozer with 200 tons of sugar. Today, to buy the same bulldozer from Japan we must export 1,300 tons of sugar. What does this mean? The Japanese are selling their bulldozers at higher and higher prices. They have excellent wages, their companies record profits, and they buy six times more sugar with the same bulldozer. Yet we must produce six times the amount of sugar and buy the same thing. This is what unequal trade is all about. This is the trade of raw materials, basic agricultural products, and products that they cannot produce. When they can produce them, they subsidize them and then they break us.

Unfortunately, due to Napoleon's ambitions or Napoleon's war against the British and the blockade of France and Napoleon's Europe, they developed the sugar beet. As a result, they produce the sugar beet in Europe and the United States. They subsidize it, and they ruin us. They invent synthetic products such as rubber. The only thing they have not invented is a synthetic chewing gum. The day that they invent it, they will wipe out the chewing gum market. Synthetic fibers and all kinds of synthetic products already exist on the market. Vanilla is synthetic. I love the taste of vanilla. However, I did not know that it was synthetic and that I was swallowing a chemical product.

With all of these measures they exclude us, they ruin us, they annihilate us, and they enslave us even more. I think that in each country there are specific examples with regard to prices. Sometimes there is a temporary increase in prices, but later they drop. The trend is toward unequal trade. One of the things proposed is the struggle against unequal trade, against the protectionism that liquidates us.

The Colombian discussed the coal mines. I know that the government and an enterprise are investing $1.5 billion. Their market was 80 [thermoelectric power plants] and so power plants in the United States found it more advantageous to buy the coal from Colombia than in the United States. Protectionist views have arisen and they are proposing that since the price of coal has dropped to $39, a $12 tax be imposed on Colombian coal so that those 80 or so thermoelectric power plants will buy coal in the United States. They draw up a development plan for a product on the basis of an alleged market, then invest billions, and then overnight they are left without a market.

These are abusive, horrible measures that are applied against our countries' development. What is being proposed is that they not do this. This is proposed in the charter of rights and duties of states and in the new international economic order. They cannot apply these kinds of protectionist measures. They cannot practice dumping. They are now ruining the Argentines; they cannot sell their meat. Neither can the Uruguayans, the Brazilians, the Costa Ricans, or the Colombians. They cannot sell this export product because Europe has 600,000 tons of meat stored. It subsidizes it at $2,500, sells it at $800, and sets the price of meat at $1,200. Then, an important product of many countries is left without markets. In the markets that are left, they must sell the meat very cheaply. They apply these measures against our countries mercilessly.

They do this dumping with subsidized products such as sugar and wheat. In the United States they subsidize these products. They do it with the textiles, with everything, even with meat. They do not do it with products they cannot produce because of the climate. But then, they produce them synthetically. When they do not do this, they do other things, as the Bolivians know well. Each time they want to drop the price of tin U.S. reserves are sold. If they want to reduce the price of silver, they begin to sell their reserves. If they want to reduce the price of coal, they do so not only because they produce the optic fibers that replace the electric cables in communications but also because they decide that they have too many reserves and sell them, causing a decrease in prices. They do so with all products. They do so with aluminium. They do it with everything. These are unbearable, abusive, and intolerable measures.

This is one of the demands that we are making and that all of the Third World countries can raise and achieve with regard to that opprobrious system of exploitation. Only if we unite and use our strengths can we set some limits, just as the workers in a union do when they cannot bear abusive measures and want improvements. That is what we are doing. I would say these are the union demands of the Third World. We are telling these gentlemen not to do these opprobrious things.

In addition, they lend us cheap money with specific interest rates and then charge us for expensive money with high interest rates. In addition to this, they have Latin America mortgaged for $360 billion and want us to pay them $400 billion in 10 years in mere interests and profits. How are we going to pay them? With what are we going to pay them? They establish all kinds of protectionist measures against Mexico, against textiles, against Mexican products, against shoes. They establish all types of protectionist measures. We cannot even sell what we produce at those miserable prices. We cannot sell them, and then they want us to pay these huge sums. Isn't this crazy? Aren't those who think that this can be paid as crazy as those who think they can collect it? We are not acting on the basis of fantasies; we are acting on the basis of realities.

Companeros, even though I had promised not to extend myself too much, these things, these demands constitute what has been called the new order that must continue to be developed. I said at noon that one of the ideas must be solidarity. There are countries that have been very exploited. They have been left very underdeveloped. They are so poor that not even with a new order or by canceling debts.... There are some that are so poor that they did not even receive loans. There are some that owe $200 million, $150 million. There are many African countries that did not even receive loans. There are dozens of countries that cannot develop if the principle of international solidarity is not applied. This is what we propose as one of the principles of the new order. It is the duty to help the poorer, the more underdeveloped countries. It is everyone's duty; but above all it is the duty of the countries that have more resources, that exploited them, and of those responsible for the underdevelopment, colonialism, and neocolonialism. They should contribute. They have a moral obligation and we must demand it from them. We can help. I think that the socialist countries can help and must help because of solidarity, and I feel that the former colonial powers that financed themselves with our sweat and blood, with our gold and silver, with the lives of tens of millions of slaves or people who died in the mines, have the moral duty to contribute to the development of the Third World countries. This is one of the principles that we must defend as an elemental principle of the new international economic order.

With regard to Cuba and its trade with the socialist countries, I repeat that what we have achieved with the socialist countries is the new order. We have achieved all of what we are proposing. That other dreadful situation does not take place.

Instead, there are just, satisfactory prices for sugar, nickel, and other products so that our country can develop and not live on the basis of starvation wages. If the products we import from them increase in price, then the prices of our products increase. If the price of something imported increases, then the price of our product increases. There can never be a situation in which we need 40 tons to buy something and then we need 200 tons. That does not occur. The purchasing power of our products is maintained as a result of the agreements we have. The credits are long-term. The interest rates are low and the debts are automatically renegotiated at 10-, 15-, and 20-year terms without interests. What we are saying is: Gentlemen, apply these principles to all countries; let these principles that are applied in Cuba's relations with the socialist community countries be applied by all industrialized countries. What we want is to universalize what we have obtained. Fortunately, of course, most of our trade is with those countries. In the 15 percent left, the others break us. They pay us 3 cents for the sugar. They pay us this if we can remain in the market because the Yankees are going after our merchandise all over the world. Of course, they can do this when it is only one country.

However, the day that they must blockade 20 countries they will be blockading themselves. The Third World cannot blockade itself. They cannot live without our raw materials and our products. They cannot. They would be the most wretched people in the world because they are accustomed to consuming cheap chocolate, cheap coffee, and everything else that is cheap and abundant while they sell everything at expensive rates. They can have other standards of living and other wages, but what do we have? Not even a roof over our heads people barefoot without an education, without retirement, without social security, without anything. We are slaves. We are worse off than slaves because slave owners were concerned that the slaves not die. Who worries if a worker dies in Latin America? With more than 100 million unemployed and underemployed, who worries if a peasant dies in Latin America? They would be happy if he dies. They are even trying to prevent them from being born. Why should they care if they die if the United States spends tens of millions of dollars in promoting sterilization in the world?

I have some figures that I read a few days ago in a report on Brazil regarding a study made by Campinas University of Sao Paulo. I would like to confirm these figures because they state that in 10 years the fertility of the Brazilian female population has dropped 26 percent. Of that population, 38 percent between 15 and 44 years of age age sterilized. I would like those in Sao Paulo to investigate that figure. Send me a telegram and tell me if it is true because it is hard to believe.

It is also said that more than half of those sterilizations took place after 1980 and that between 1978 and 1984 the United States provided $20 million for these sterilization programs. They should really be concerend about the survival of the peasants, the workers, and the children. They don't want them to be born. They are frightened because they see the political consequences of the problem and the potential possibilities of explosions. They do not want the birth of children. How could they care if those already born die of hunger? They die in such high numbers. A Peruvian representative stated today that the infant mortality rate is 120 per 1,000 live births. He said it was 12.12 percent. Gentlemen, that is equivalent to 120 children. Infant mortality increases; it does not decrease. For a time it did decrease but now it is increasing. If you see the statistics of the Pan-American Health Organization, you will find other figures.

As I was saying, they can blockade a country like Cuba and go after it, but the day they must go after 20 they will go crazy. They will end up biting their tail like a rabid dog. [applause] They cannot blockade 20, 50, 100 countries. They blockade one country and they get a big headache. They have spent 26 years in this unglorious task. For what? Ah, they wanted to show that the revolution was very bad because the country has not advanced. Once in a while I tell them: Compare us to the models that you have. No comparison is impossible. I am embarrassed to make the comparison. I say this sorrowfully. Compare the infant mortality rates, the illiteracy rates, the rates of teachers and doctors, student rates, the rates in all fields. When I ask some of them: Have you ever heard of an official here who has enriched himself, someone who has become a millionaire with the money stolen from the people? Is there a similar situation in the rest of Latin America? With less than 10 questions, with 5 questions, they are thrown off balance.

As I have said many times, they have beliefs and not an idea. They believe something and think it is true. I tell them: You have beliefs; you don't have ideas. In addition, they think all truths are evident because they included some in the constitution. However, they have not fulfilled them. They invent things. Whatever they invent, they think they are evident truths. With a few questions they are thrown off balance. They do not have the ideological consistency to debate with a revolutionary who bases himself on a position of principles and who has been consistent with those principles, I assure you.

So then, we request, we demand, we call for -- however you want to say it -- the same treatment for the other countries, this treatment that we have spoken about, this treatment of the new order that we have obtained. Without the new order and with only the social changes, we would have been unable to do what we have done. Yes, we would have better distributed our wealth; our society would be better. There are some around who say they do not want to share or distribute misery. Of course, what happens is that I have heard some prominent political personalities say when they speak of socialism that they do not want to share misery. Of course they are right. In their countries, the misery is not shared. It is suffered by part of the population and the others have everything. They do not in any way share the misery. I say that it is more just to share the misery than to throw the weight of the misery to the immense majority of the population in order to benefit a minority of the population. [applause]

In reality, social change alone is not a solution. You need development. Why can we have the levels that we have? There are 256,000 teachers and professors in the country. Rather than having unemployment, we have a reserve of 10,000 teachers. What do we do? We put the 10,000 teachers to work and the others can study while they receive wages. In the future we will have 40,000 or 50,000 teachers in reserve so that every 7 years we can give them a year with pay to study. We have already graduated the first teachers with primary education degrees. We graduated 2,700. We are maintaining a tremendous pace.

Approximately 5,500 youths, selected due to their experience and vocation, enter our medical schools. We already have one medical school per province. This year we have already graduated 2,436 doctors. By 1988, 3,000 doctors per year will graduate and by 1991, 3,500 per year. We will have more doctors graduating per year than those left here by imperialism. We had 6,000 and it took 3,000. But now I tell you, here is the reply. We will graduate 50,000 doctors in the next 15 years. We will have 65,000 doctors in the year 2000 and of those, we estimate that 10,000 will be providing cooperation in Third World countries. Today we have 1,600 [applause] and a total of [words indistinct].

Well it is true that we have great things. We have hundreds of explorers' centers for children and Pioneers' palaces. All of the country's children are organized. There are no barefoot children. There are no abandoned children. There are no hungry children. There are no families without resources. There is a great spirit of solidarity. However, this is not done only with goodwill. Resources and development are needed. If we had the conditions that are imposed on the world market by imperialism, the 7.5 million tons of sugar that we export would not be enough to pay for 25 percent of the petroleum we consume, which is equivalent to 11 million tons. We consume almost as much petroleum as Ecuador produces because we do not have big rivers here, we do not have hydraulic power. What kind of situation would we be in? Perhaps we would be meeting here without these lights and perhaps in a park. However, we would not have achieved the social advances that we have obtained.

It would be an act of conceit or of vanity for Cuban revolutionaries to say that we have achieved what we have because we are excellent revolutionaries or excellent administrators. We have achieved this because we have staged a revolution. We are not excellent administrators, nor can we presume to be excellent revolutionaries. However, we have created the conditions to obtain the necessary resources for the economic and social development that we are achieving in our country.

What can be expected of the situation in Santo Domingo and many Latin American countries with those prices? I am speaking of 7.5 million [currency not given] in exports without a market. We have guaranteed markets and specific terms. Why couldn't all Third World countries, working together, impose this new order?

There is one thing that definitely has to be imposed: the cancellation of that debt. I say cancellation because this afternoon I was thinking for a while about the problems created by this word cancellation. I looked it up in the dictionary, to see what to cancel means. I remember that I used it for the first time in 1979 at the United Nations, after the sixth summit. Now I understand the confusion, and to tell the truth, the dictionary is to blame. [laughter]

It says, to cancel, to annul a document. That is what we want to do with that document. To settle, obliterate a debt. None of us want that. To annul a commitment. That we do want, to annul the commitment that was binding on the people. Well, then I looked it up in the dictionary of synonyms, to see the meaning of this word, to resolve this problem of terminology. It says, to cancel: synonym, to liquidate. We have to consider in what sense we want to liquidate the debt. To comply with: We do not want that. To revoke: We do want that. To annul: We do want that. To abolish: We do want that. To mop up: Yes we want to mop up the tears of the debt. To erase from memory: We want very much to erase it from our memory. [laughter; applause] To file away: We do want that. Thus, we have quite a few synonyms. Some of them are good, but my preference is to abolish, because it reminds me of slavery and the abolition of slavery.

Historically, it is necessary to do with the debt the same thing that was done with slavery, because it is enslaving us. To erase from memory is an excellent phrase, an excellent synonym for what we want to say. To file away is also excellent. You can choose the one that you like best, and if you don't like any of them, there is also a clear and intelligible phrase, namely not to pay, which is what we want to do. [applause]

Companero Venezuelan, thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to explain some of these matters related to the new order, because I know that some people have been proposing this. I had the chance to explain the type of relations that we have with the socialist countries and that it would be ideal for this type of relations to be expanded, which is what we should struggle to impose. I believe that we will be able to conquer the debt, if we unite and use our strength in the international organizations. We are a great majority in the United Nations. That should not be forgotten. I should not be forgotten that dozens upon dozens of countries have achieved a formal independence and that all that remains is for us to learn how to vote.

In the United Nations, we could even change the rules of the United Nations, if we apply the strength of all the countries to this struggle, to this demand. In all the international organizations we are a great majority: in the UNCTAD, in the Group of 77, everywhere. I assure you that there is quite a bit of solidarity in those countries. There usually is, and they usually dare to propose things that the Latin American generally do not dare to propose, because we Latin American have been inculcated with habits of submission even more than the Africans.

I have heard the Africans make speeches that the Latin American representatives do not usually make. Therefore, we simply have to have more strength to impose our will. The labor unions have less strength, but when they act together, their demands are met. They get what they call for. I believe that if the Third World acts with unity [changes thought] and that is why I always say the Third World, because the Latin Americans tend to be among the Third World countries.

Latin America alone can and should direct this struggle, because it alone can direct it. It has many of the right conditions, better conditions than Africa, and better conditions than the underdeveloped countries of Asia. It has a greater cultural development, more political awareness, a different social structure, tens of millions of workers and peasants, and million of university professionals such as doctors and engineers.

That is why university professionals were also included in the document this afternoon. Therefore I believe that we have enough strength if we struggle to obtain some of the demands we are proposing here, if we see things clearly and are aware of our strength.

One thing about which I have no doubt, of which I am sure, is that the socialist countries will support that struggle. They have already made some statements regarding this. I know that they are interested in this struggle, especially because of how the idea of peace is linked to the solution of these economic problems. Those countries do not have the problems that face the Third World countries, but they are greatly concerned about peace. That is why I say that it is important to link these struggles, and that is why the element that we have introduced in all interviews is so important: the fact that the foreign debt problem could be resolved with 10 or 12 percent of the millions upon millions of dollars spent on weaponry each year.

There is more on the matter of the new international economic order: Both things could be resolved with 30 percent of what is presently spent on weaponry in the world. Unfortunately, if we erased this debt from memory -- as it will be erased -- and a new international economic order were established on the basis of military expenditures, there would still be $700 billion which they could use to destroy the world several times over, even if the Third World were to receive $300 billion more from military expenditures. This is not utopian; it can be done.

We say: Not only will this debt be forgotten, abolished, and filed away, but it is also necessary to have a new international economic order now. That is why we propose a solution requiring that they give up weapons, the madness of "star wars" and space matters, and such nonsense that does so much direct damage, not only because of the danger of war, but also because the enormous budget deficit causes the high interest rates, the high rate of exchange of the dollar, and other barbarities with which they destroy the world.

Therefore, we say to them: We are determined to erase that debt. Moreover, we did them a favor. We explained how it could be done without greatly affecting them. It is true that our mission is not to solve their problems, but we think it is proper, consistent, and intelligent to show the way. I will explain why. We should not only gather together the greatest number of forces in this struggle and unite the countries; we must also win support in the industrialized world. It is symbolic today that workers from France, Scotland, and other countries sent a message. We have to win the support of the laborers, the workers of the industrialized countries, [applause] the students, the intellectuals, and all possible forces. If we do not win their support, the imperialists will try to unite them against the Third World.

Therefore we say to them: It is not necessary for the banks to go bankrupt, and we do not want that. Do we by chance have a tender, great love for international banking and the financial system? No. We have no love for them, but it is necessary to keep imperialism from having the argument that what we are planning will ruin the banks and that as a result, tens of millions of bank depositors are going to lose their money. Or, they will tell the workers: You are going to lose your standard of living. Or, they will tell the public: You are going to have to pay more interest if this occurs. We say: None of this is necessary. The banks do not have to go bankrupt. It is not necessary to pay 1 cent more in interest than is being paid now. Not 1 cent belonging to a bank depositor need be lost.

There is money being thrown away every day, fabulous amounts, and everyone knows about this -- military spending. It is madness. The world cannot be interested in this arms race; the socialist countries cannot be interested in this arms race, the socialist countries know too well what they can do with that money. There are always many needs to be met.

We continue to say: Sit down and stop wanting to forcefully impose your ideas; stop dreaming you are going to change the world; stop dreaming that you are going to stop history; and sit down nd talk in peace and resolve the problems through negotiation. If you want your capitalism; do it, that is your business. We are not going to the United States to make a revolution there.

In an academic discussion we could demonstrate that socialism is better than capitalism, but we cannot go there and say: Well, change your social system. Let them burn themselves up there for as long as they last. That is their business. It will not be eternal, but that is not our business. No one is going to try to change the capitalist system by force and impose socialism in Europe, Japan, the United States, Canada, and Australia. No one is going to try that. No one is thinking of that. It has not been imagined by anyone. Sit down, discuss and save one-third of what you are spending on the madness of war.

Thus it is necessary to send the message to the public in those countries, to show them that the proposed measures would not harm them. They are afflicted with unemployment. If the Third World had an additional purchasing power of $300 billion, many factories in Europe, the United States, and other places would be fully occupied. There would be increased employment in those countries. That is why I believe that the proposals we are making are not capricious. We have to send a message to the public. Imperialism will try to isolate us and we must try to isolate the imperialists and the warmonger That is the purpose of these statements. I am completely, absolutely sure. We have sent this material to many countries. A large amount of this information is on the table of the meeting of African chiefs of state. This material is in the hands of the chiefs of state of almost all countries. We always make some exceptions. This material is in many places. This material must already be in the hands of the youths gathered for the Moscow festival. This material is in the hands of the women meeting in Nairobi.

No one imagines that a publicity campaign is under way. An intensive effort and intensive contacts are being made everywhere. They have said that this is a publicity campaign by Cuba to improve its image and improve relations. They do not realize that it is a serious struggle that we have been waging for some time. If you wish, I can tell you a little bit about it later.

This is what can be said in answer to the question, and I promise you that it is the last time that I will answer so extensively. [applause]

[(Manellemi) -- in Portuguese with simultaneous Spanish translation]

(Jaime Menelemi) of (La Coute), Brazil. Companero Fidel Castro, this conference is a great step in unifying the struggle of Latin America and the Caribbean against the foreign debt. It is obvious that to the extent that we unite, imperialism will have to use new tactics. Instead of an embargo, it will have to think, and perhaps it will make a tempting proposal to some Latin American countries, perhaps offering to negotiate better terms for the debt. Should this occur, what would be our joint response?

[Castro] What you are asking or presenting is very important. It is a potential issue. Imperialism, so far, is on the defensive with regard to this problem. It is disconcerted because this is a problem that has been developing for some time. I am going to take advantage of this opportunity. I am not going to keep my word 100 percent because I am going to be a little bit extensive [laughter], because I think an explanation is necessary in this regard.

There are some Yankees who are saying that Castro is an opportunist who is taking advantage of this problem to improve Cuba's image and relations. They have not yet realized that we have resisted for 26 years. We are more consolidated than ever and we have better relations than ever, and this is not essential to us. This matter of image is the greatest foolishness on earth. Since they live on the basis of an image, they believe that everyone else is looking for an image, and they don't know that not even a tiny bird can be nourished with an image. They throw away huge sums of money on that. They imagine that other mean are vain, seeking a name and prestige. They believe that. But here it is, and this was printed after the sixth summit in October 1979. I am glad that you have not chosen 12 October because it was on 12 October that I said all this. What do you know! [applause]

It is mere coincidence. I have been saying this for a long time, pointing out the problem in the Nonaligned Movement, more specifically. For example, in that address, in the name of all the nonaligned, I said: While the inequality of international economic relations increases the accumulated foreign debt of the developing countries to over $300 billion -- it was already large, but the debt of the Third World at that time was less than the Latin American debt today -- international financial organizations and private banks are increasing interest rates, reducing the amortization periods for loans, and financially smothering the developing countries, all of which are elements of coercion in negotiations, allowing them to have additional political and economic advantages over our countries.

At the time it was suggested, as an explanation...[changes thought] I believe that certain theories and stories being circulated by them must be disproved, as this is important in connection with your question, given the role that Cuba is playing in this problem.

On that occasion we said: The debt of the developing countries has already reached the figure of $335 billion. Today it is three times that. On that occasion the dollar was slipping [laughs], or rather was moving upward. It is calculated that the total payment to service the foreign debt is over $40 billion a year, which represents more than 20 percent of the countries' annual exports.

On the other hand, the average per capita income of the developed countries is now 14 times that of the underdeveloped countries. This situation is now unbearable. We were saying in 1979 that it was $40 billion for everyone. Now Latin America alone owes more than that. Moreover, it isn't that $40 billion is being paid; that is just interst, profit. It could be a little more or less, depending on the interest rate.

We also previously discussed the matter of weapons and military spending. We said mainly that in the name of the developing countries, the Nonaligned Movement demands that a large portion of the huge amounts of resources thrown away by mankind on the arms race be devoted to development, which will simultaneously help avert the threat of war and make it possible to improve the international situation.

Finally, we said: In summary, Mr President and Mssrs Representatives -- this was in the United Nations. It was full. No one was missing on that Friday, and I remember that my presentation received a great deal of support then. At the time we were asking for $300 billion for development, based on the fact that there was actually no development. What existed was relative underdevelopment. We said that there is a need for...[Changes thought]We were still asking back in 1979: Please, look, we need $300 billion. Take $300 billion out of your pockets. The situation was radically different.

Then, we said: The unequal trade is ruining our peoples and must stop. The inflation that is being exported to us is ruining our peoples and it must stop. Now what they are exporting to us is the overvaluation of the dollar. Protectionism is ruining our peoples and must stop. The inequalities existing in the exploitation of marine resources is abusive and must be abolished. This was a problem that was presented when we were discussing the law of the sea. An agreement was reached, but the United States and some of its wealthiest accomplices have refused to accept it. The financial resources received by the developing countries are insufficient and should be increased. Weapons spending is irrational. The use of those funds must end and they must be used to finance development. The present international monetary system is bankrupt and must be replaced. The debt of the relatively less developed countries, which are in a disadvantageous position, is unbearable and they have no solution. It should be cancelled. Even then the dictionary led me to use a word that lends itself to a double interpretation. There was prolonged applause at this point. What was most applauded there at the United Nations was this idea, back in 1979. It was applauded by all the representatives of the entire Third World.

Indebtedness is economically overwhelming the other developing countries and it should be alleviated -- we were not yet calling for a total cancellation. The economic chasm between the developed and developing countries, instead of being reduced, is getting larger and must disappear. Those are the demands of the underdeveloped countries. They presented them in 1979: almost the same things, with a few differences. At that time the debt was smaller. The problem was critical for a few dozen countries, but it was not yet critical for Venezuela, Mexico, and a number of other countries.

The fact is that the debt has tripled and now affects all countries. The countries that had resources to face this situation are also in trouble. Nigeria, an oil-producing country, has an enormous debt and great problems, and a population of over 100 million. Mexico, as was explained here, needed to use 72 percent of its oil exports to pay the interest on its debt, before the reduction in oil prices. At this point it probably needs 75 percent just to pay the interest on its debt. Take Venezuela -- the companero here eloquently explained Venezuela's problems. At the end of his analysis he reached the conclusion that the debt is impossible to pay. They cannot pay because the oil-exporting countries have been afflicted by two problems. They used to produce almost 40 million; now they produce 16 million [barrels of oil a day]. The price, which should be over $30, has been reduced. When the prices were high they took on commitments; they spent money; and now the situation is difficult, even for those countries. I realize that terrible things were done. I realize, as the Venezuelan companero said, that certain groups, linked to imperialist financial circles, have made fabulous profits. A recent World Bank report explained that in this period of great indebtedness, Venezuela was drained not of 100 percent of what entered the country as loans -- not 100 percent, even though that seems like a lot -- but, curiously, of 132 percent of what entered the country. For each dollar in loans, $1.32 was taken out; in other words, not just the money that was loaned to it, but also money from its reserves, money obtained from exports. Incredible.

However, I do not think of that. I think of the Venezuelan people: the workers, the peasants, the youth, women, townspeople, who are suffering the consequences. I reached two conclusions: one, that the situation had become so serious that no country could be excluded; and second, since the situation was critical everywhere, the demand that the debt of all Third World countries, without exception, be canceled, would be much stronger because the struggle would not be waged only by a few dozen countries that are no longer able to move forward, but by all Third World countries. Many of those countries, which have resources, have fallen into such a terrible situation, and the peoples are suffering the consequences to such an extent, that they need to be included in this demand. At the same time, with all these countries joined together, the movement would have more strength.

That is the difference: Now the Third World debt has practically tripled. It was already serious at that time, and we saw that it would worsen. At that time we asked for $300 billion in 10 years. Now we are proposing something else. We are not going to pay almost $1 trillion in 10 years. Latin America alone would owe $40 billion. That is why we said that the situation has changed. Before we were asking; now we are simply not going to pay that money. That is the difference. The initiative has changed from their hands to the hands of the Third World. It is up to the Third World to take action rather than waiting for them to have compassion and soften up and yield. Those are the basic changes.

Well then, I explained this, companero, because this is something that was foreseen and that Cuba has been predicting. The only difference is that the situation was not critical, as it has become now. Now, it is a catastrophe. They paid no attention. Everyone liked the speech; they applauded. All the chiefs of state applauded that speech, which was made on behalf of the Nonaligned Movement. At that time Cuba was president of the movement, because it had been the seat of the sixth summit.

The matter was again discussed in New Delhi in 1983. The crisis had become more critical by then. A report was presented by Cuba to the Nonaligned Movement analyzing all of these problems in great detail, but not in the technical language that was so popular. In that speech it was also proposed that a tireless struggle be waged for peace, to halt the arms race, to drastically reduce military expenditures, and to demand that a considerable portion of those massive funds be used for the development of the Third World. We proposed to struggle for an end to the unfair trade that reduces real income from exports, places on our economy the burden of the inflation generated in the developed capitalist countries, and bankrupts our peoples; to struggle against protectionism that multiplies tariff and non-tariff barriers and bars access to markets for our raw materials and manufactured products; to struggle for the cancellation of the foreign debt of the large number of countries that have no real possibility of paying it, and for a drastic alleviation of the burden of servicing the debt for those countries that with new terms would be able to fulfill their obligations. Other points were presented, but these were different from 1979. We were already speaking for all the countries that had no real possibility of paying.

Previously we were speaking of those countries of relatively lesser development, but now we spoke of all those who were unable to pay. We called for the debt to be drastically alleviated -- because by then it had grown tremendously; it had almost doubled -- a drastic alleviation of the burden of servicing the debt for those countries that, with new terms, would be able to fulfill their obligations.

Now almost 18 months have passed, and the matter is much more serious. The proposals that were made at that time did not generate a movement. These proposals have generated a movement now, because the crisis has reached its most acute point, a new situation has been created, and the people are feeling the effects to a much greater extent. However, one could link all the details and follow the course of all ideas, all the proposals, and see that they are the same as the ones that are being made now, except that now there is a crisis. Some people imagine that I began to discover something, to invent something to harass the Yankees or improve Cuba's image or Cuba's relations. This is important, because there are some today who are concerned about Cuba's proposal. Cuba has been making this proposal for the past 6 years, and even before that it was pointing out these problems. Yet they are concerned. They say: They are right, but the bad thing is that the proposal is being made by Cuba. Poor Cuba! It can't even talk. It has been talking for a long time, but now it has to shut up. Now they imagine that the whole thing is a trick, a maneuver, a sham, and, of course, they believe this. However, while they have been believing this, all these ideas have been published and circulated everywhere. They have reached many places. I have not mentioned all the places they have reached. They have reached the churches; they have reached every place that they should have reached.

Now those who thought it was a game, a publicity campaign, have discovered that there is a problem, and they are disconcerted. They do not yet have an answer to all this, nor is one possible. They have waged some petty campaigns with regard to Cuba. They say that Cuba is renegotiating its debt. Yes, we have been renegotiating our debt, just like everyone else. However, our debt is a small, insignificant one, and a part of that debt in convertible money is a debt to Third World countries like Mexico. There is also a certain debt to some hundreds of millions to Argentina and other Third World countries.

We do not owe one cent to the Yankee banks, or to the IMF, or the World Bank, because we were thrown out of all of those. [laughter] We were kicked out in an honorable manner. [applause] They, in a provocative manner... [changes thought] After all, we are not waging this struggle for Cuba. Cuba will do what the others do, but in a provocative manner. They would like to make us take a step of that kind, so that they could say: Well, don't you see the problem that Cuba is facing, and that is why it is defending this position. We say: We are the only ones who are calm, who do not have a problem. We are in a good position to wage this struggle. They would like us to say that we are not going to pay the Mexicans; well, we say that we are going to pay the Mexicans. We are going to pay the Argentines, because those are Third World countries that have serious problems. To us, from the beginning, this has been a struggle that we have been waging for some time, but there is no profit in it for us. To the contrary, it is to our credit. If we owed $30,000 to Yankee banks, they would not say what they are saying. They would not be saying... [changes thought] trying to provoke us to make us cancel our debt to the Yankee banks. They know that we do not owe them a single cent. That is why it is suddenly possible for them to use that argument.

We will do what the other countries do. We have somewhat of a debt, but it is a very small debt to certain banks that, in the midst of the embargo, and despite the opposition of the Yankees, gave us some loans. However, we plan to pay all the Third World countries, even if the debt is cancelled. We will pay the Mexicans, the Argentines, and the Third World countries, simply because we can pay it, [applause] and thus take away the Yankees' only argument.

They use the Voice of America to broadcast editorials every now and then -- they have already aired three -- in desperation, to broadcast a message against Cuba, not officially, but through the Voice of America. They have moved the springs of a few newspapers in Latin America that are known to operate at the service of imperialism. They have ordered some little articles and other such things published. They have begun to move; they began to make efforts to keep this and the other meeting from taking place and other campaigns, but they are disconcerted.

They have thought up other things. Here in private I can tell you. As you know, for some time now, they have mistakenly believed that by killing the dog they could get rid of the rabies. They think that this is rabies and that I am some sort of a dog that they have a right to kill. This has been the most ambushed dog in the world. The dog is alive by a miracle. Not so much a miracle because there are people who defend the revolution and not even a counterrevolutionary mosquito, or a CIA agent can move here. Not even disguised as a rabbit [laughter] can he escape. [applause] What I can say here in private is that they are desperate, somewhat hysterical, and reactivating all sorts of measures to eliminate Mr Castro, to kill the dog.

Therefore, we know this. It is good for me to tell them, for them to know that we know this. They have adopted measures to promote personal attacks in a very barefaced manner, but we know about it, and reliable information is very important in everything, right?

What have they been doing? One or another attempt, but mistaken ones, because they kill 100 dogs and the rabies still exist, and the rabies may even be multiplied.

Well, I am convinced that this cannot possibly be stopped but they are... [changes thought] that is their mental state, their psychological state. I think they will now move more actively, because their ranks are weakening. The assistant secretary of the treasury has begun to talk about formulas, saying this is a serious matter. The secretary was furious and issued a statement within 24 hours, saying that everything had been a foolish remark. Kissinger, who is an eminent figure of the U.S. imperialism, has been discussing the problem and formulas to solve it because it is intolerable. He has given some formulas, mainly that the World Bank should take charge of part of the debt through bonds.

They are looking for formulas, and we must not think that imperialism will remain idle. It will move everywhere, launch all kinds of publicity campaigns, pull strings, pull strings, pull every string possible, try to divide, try to exert pressure, and -- above all -- try to extinguish the fire before it gathers strength. Can it be extinguished? I think that extinguishing the fire or not depends on whether the masses defend the cause as their own or not. This cause must become the banner of the workers, peasants, students, professionals, and (?the rest of) public opinion, and must be strengthened by the masses.

Consequently, this will not be solved in a clandestine meeting, or with promises here and there. Anyway, what can they offer? Let us suppose that they accept what is being proposed and suddenly start lending money to pay the interest, saying: Do not worry, you will not pay a single dollar, we will lend you more money, behave yourselves, implement all the IMF measures, be good boys, and then we will handle the interest so that all is settled. This would only tend to increase the debt and the interest would grow every year.

Let us suppose that they say: Well, we will give you all these chances to alleviate the situation. Some would believe that this is true. However, they would be giving us nothing. They are only giving what they cannot collect. They would invent a fictitious loan to increase the interest. I think that the public opinion would be clearly aware of this and would be able to analyze it. Above all, their dependence would never cease because negotiations would continue every month, or every 6 months, and every year. The countries would continue to have a rope around their necks, and it could be tightened at the most convenient moment. They would still be enslaved and chained, and the debt would continue to be their problem.

What would the alternative be? If they appear as the good guys and offer that, all the countries and governments would be able to use more resources, even though some of these resources would be drained, because they go one way or the other. All this would not solve this great problem of unequal trade; we would continue to receive increasingly less while exporting increasingly more. In 1984, $95 million was exported in merchandise -- I mean $95 billion -- and the purchasing power of this $95 billion was the equivalent of $75 billion in 1980, that is having exported $20 billion or more. A tremendous exporting effort was exerted, but the purchasing power dropped $20 billion. They have brazenly stolen [laughs] that amount this way, since the term trade was imposed by them with all these measures, the dumping, and the strategic reserve. They have stolen $20 billion with all those tricks. The countries exported $95 billion and the purchasing power of these exports was the equivalent of $75 billion. The situation is worsening.

Will they give up their good guy image, their protectionism, and their dumping. They can say: We will not collect $40 billion. However, this would make them cry; they will never do this. They will continue to increase the countries' debt, stealing tens of thousands of dollars through price fixing, the overvaluation of their dollar, and capital drain. The situation would continue to worsen and nothing would be solved, even though I admit that if a few countries suddenly did not have to pay $12 billion they would be able to maneuver, improve, and have a temporary respite -- a few countries, not all.

What kind of a formula would be required to lend the amount that has to be paid in interest? This does not solve the debt problem, it worsens it. I repeat, total dependence would continue every month, every 6 months, every year, and the basic problem would continue unsolved. That is why it is so important for these banners to unite, so that no one may believe that they are solving the problem, or satisfying the Latin American people's needs or demands by simply applying a lousy financial formula. That formula would be useless, it would not remove the rope from around anyone's neck, and it would continue to advocate the robbery and looting we are victims of. That is why these three pillars are so important: Cancel the debt, the new international economic order, and Latin America's economic integration. Even if the first two were achieved -- cancel the debt and the new international economic order -- Latin America could not be developed.

Even Europe, fully developed and rich, England, and Spain, state that they cannot live without a large economic community. Then, how can Curacao, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, or the Central American countries, or any of these countries be developed alone or isolated? They would always be prisoners or hostages to the U.S. imperialism. We must bear in mind, in my opinion, that the economic integration is one of the conditions for our countries' development and independence. Some countries are still being isolated -- Santo Domingo, the islands -- blockaded and invaded. Cuba is being blockaded, Nicaragua is being blockaded, threatened with an invasion. Every day they threaten an invasion somewhere. They invade Grenada. Ah, it is convenient to have these countries divided and disintegrated, in order to destroy them one by one. That is why they are enemies of integration, and I tell you that these three banners are three great anti-imperialist banners, three great banners for our peoples' independence, and -- I might add -- three great, historical and revolutionary banners. I think that these immediate goals could be achieved if we struggle and do what must be done.

Well then, I believe that the masses can prevent difficulties, can prevent the maneuvers of imperialism; and there is a clear awareness of all of these problems. Then, that is their importance. We do not say to pressure -- you must understand that we want to use another language. We say that the masses are the best guarantee so that imperialism cannot maneuver, cannot hold conferences, cannot engage in trickery to limit the objectives of this struggle, to make us be satisfied with 5 when we know that we can achieve 100.

Undoubtedly, they are going to make every attempt, try every invention, they have mentioned this Marshall Plan; Kissinger spoke of the Marshall Plan and I thought it was necessary, but oh well, the problem is so grave that 25 Marshall Plans would be needed. They don't even have money. If they reasoned, if they reacted, they would say: We will start out a little more realistically. Definitely what has been proposed could be induced to realism. They would have to forget a little about all the madness into which they are investing such fabulous sums of money because there are other problems. I am not going to speak about them or what the consequences will be for the U.S. economy. That is around here in an interview with a U.S. legislator, an academician; it will be published soon in the United States.

However, we must be alert to every form of maneuver that they might attempt. We must see how this problem evolves. There is talk that the ideal thing would be to have a consensus, that the ideal thing would be for us to sit down and discuss how this debt is to be cancelled, how to establish a new order. But then it is possible that there will not even be time for that, that some desperate countries will launch themselves in the struggle to apply any of the formulas that you propose in this regard. I think that in a country with a desperate situation, a country that has no pesos and proclaims it -- because some have done it very quietly; the Bolivians have already proclaimed it, that they do not have pesos -- then they would find themselves in a predicament with a certain impact. What to do? They could adopt economic measures, but if they do they would be dousing the fire with gasoline. If they do not take these measures and take a chance that everyone will do the same...[changes thought] I do not see an easy solution in sight for the problem.

Of course some countries must be given total solidarity if they initiate that struggle. We have proposed, in response to the intrigues and to improve relations and prestige, that we would give that banner to any Latin American country with the sole condition that it carry it out consistently and not betray it. Of course, this banner does not have to be given to anybody in particular. I think that as of now this banner, since it is in the hands of the Latin American workers, is in safe hands. [applause]

Therefore, they who accuse us of having this banner for reasons of prestige, no, we asked the Latin American workers for this banner and we will receive it and will hold it high with honor. [applause] Companero Zurita.

[Zurita] Allow me companero, Commader Fidel, to thank you for this extraordinary discourse we could only have heard here in Cuba with you and the workers. The question is as follows: Playing the devil's advocate, how can you answer those sectors that question the new international economic order that you propose, saying that it will basically benefit the bourgeoisie, and in this manner the lifespan of capitalism would be prolonged in our countries?

[Castro] The capitalist lifespan in Europe and in many countries can be prolonged. They have resources, possibilities of maintaining the system for some time, but it will become more difficult if the Third World achieves its goal and is no longer waiting, as it has been doing up to now. For the first time they would have to accede in view of the strength of the countries of the Third World.

They would no longer exert control as they did in the past. There is no doubt that if the Third World countries undertook development programs they would have to make imports of technology and equipment, many imports. Purchases, international trade would be boosted, no doubt. Unemployment, which is one of their problems would be curbed. In short, if they were reasonable, they could also obtain certain benefits. The workers, the proprietors, the industries, the industrialists could obtain certain benefits.

However, I do not think in the least that this struggle can be translated into the prolongation. For the time being it would be placing a very large check on the system of exploitation and sacking which they currently conduct against our peoples. This imperialism is much more dangerous because they have us all by the neck and step on us every day. If we remove their hold on our necks and keep them from stepping on us, we begin to live in a more tolerable world, especially if we later know how to defend that liberty or the possibilities achieved.

Now, regarding our countries, we are going into the subject that I explained to the Argentine companero, which I did not deem advisable to analyze. Whatever concerns any of you may have as to whether or not capitalism will be prolonged in Latin America, I can tell you the following here: First, we have been talking about a new order, an end to all these abuses originating from the debt. Now then, you may wonder how these resources are going to be invested. In a socialist development or in a capitalist development? It is clear that I believe in a socialist development. The perfect thing is a socialist development, but I do not think we should be proposing the slogan that development is capitalist or socialist, and I believe that the answer to this question can be given only by the peoples of each country. What type of development does it want, or what type of development can it aspire to achieve? Only you can respond to that question. It would not be useful for me to speculate here on what has happened or what will happen or predict one type of development or another type of development, in keeping with the opinion that I espoused to the companero.

What capitalism says depends on you. How long it lasted here depended on us [applause] companero of the Inca University of Colon, Colombia.

[Unidentified questioner] Thank you, Commander Fidel Castro. In Bogota on 9 April 1948 the possibility of developing the trade movement and worker movement in Latin America began to disintegrate. I think one of the fundamental things happening here, today, in this room is, as has been said, that the possibility has been given at this meeting here, with exceptional conditions and an exceptional crisis, of achieving a reunification of all the forces of the trade union movement and all its allies. Regarding the point that has been debated here, you have said that there is something that is more important at this moment than the social changes: the independence of our peoples. I believe that we have been able to clarify that aspect with your extraordinary explanation because I believe there may have been some doubts here as to what is first, what is primary, and what is secondary. However, my question is directed at the topic broached previously, on the subjective conditions. In Colombia we experienced the fact that there was no condition, despite the fact that there were objective conditions, there was no clear, subjective condition different from the dispersion that occurred after 9 April. This happened in other countries. I believe that one of the essential things that has happened here is that you have provided a theoretic, essential basis to this process, which has been briefly described. Although it has crystalized at this moment, a new category of struggle of classes has emerged here, a struggle of classes regarding an unpayable foreign debt. My question, then, is how do you view an acceleration of the subjective conditions, because obviously this instrument of struggle, this theoretic instrument, this weapon of ideas has been forged here under the conditions and bases of the Cuban socialist revolution which you, obviously as its guide, have provided? As we said, it is a new element. My question is how must the acceleration of those subjective conditions, this theoretic ammunition provided during this process by you as its fundamental guide, be interpreted?

[Castro] On this problem, which I spoke about in that manner, it would be well for me to explain it a little, that more important than two or three revolutions is this problem we have been discussing.

This is a tremendous anti-imperialist struggle of all the Third World, an enormous struggle with great significance and much strength. In what sense do I say that it is more important than two, three, or four revolutions? Because you will say that there was a revolution in Cuba, and you all know the story of what happened. We were left alone, isolated. We had to obtain aid from very far away. The revolution in Nicaragua has not proposed a socialist platform, it has proposed a mixed economy and pluralism of parties, and it held broad elections, classic-type direct elections.

If the elections had been like those in Great Britain, they would have obtained 100 percent of the seats in the legislature, because the opposition would not have won any seat in any district. The elections were classic, with a direct vote, sabotaged by the Yankees amid a war -- they do not want to condone its life, they blockade it, they threaten it, they threaten it every day. Tomorrow marks the sixth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution. They exploit our isolation, our every economic weakness, our dependence, our underdevelopment, to make life impossible for us. Tomorrow there may be a revolution in Bolivia, Peru, or another country, and it could be isolated, encircled, threatened from all sides, left alone, and Santo Domingo could be invaded.

There are countries in which a social change or a revolution would undoubtedly have a tremendous impact. A similar thing happens in Africa. The critical situation has led to revolutions. In Burkina Faso, formerly Upper Volta, there was a revolution. I know the problems they have. In Ethiopia there was a revolution. In Angola there was independence. In Mozambique South Africa is organizing bands; that is where the CIA is organizing mercenary bands, blocking and attacking helter-skelter with a carrot and a stick. Imperialism says I will give you something if you behave, otherwise I will club you on the head. They send mercenary bands to make life impossible for the peoples. I think anyone can understand that if we wage this struggle, seek unity, seek strength, wage this struggle against imperialism with vital demands for our peoples to secure these objectives immediately, it is clear to me that this should be prioritized to the objective of achieving one, two, three, four, five revolutions so they survive under severe hardships or intolerable conditions or be smashed by imperialism.

That is why I have no doubt that that is priority. Now, let us suppose that the battle is not won, that the debt is not written off, as the dictionary of synonyms states, that there is no new order, that there is nothing, that this catastrophe continues; then there will be revolution and the subjective conditions will accelerate. In some cases the subjective conditions contribute a lot to creating the other conditions.

An example was Cuba. The situation of Cuba was not even a shadow of the tragedy many countries are experiencing today. The subjective factor influenced the other. But here the objective factor will influence the subjective factor. And it is viewed like a snowball, advancing like a volcano. I have been at the meetings of women, of various sectors, of journalists; we held a meeting of journalists here. More than 200 journalists met, and I saw in all of them a unanimous view, a unanimous idea regarding our problem. It was very similar to this meeting. The meeting of women and the documents issued were very similar to this meeting. The big question was: Was it going to be a political meeting? That was the big question. But I have never seen the ideas advance with the strength that these ideas have advanced. Why? Because there is a tremendous crisis. It is not because it is well expressed, with pretty literature. To read good literature one can go and look for Cervantes and Quixote, which will always be an interesting novel. Because there is a great crisis it is advancing at a fast pace. Now I would say that as a good demonstration -- in spite of all these meetings -- this meeting here and these documents, which are a qualitative part, are an excellent example.

I remember when the companeros began to talk about the meeting in Guadeloupe in the Caribben to discuss this. And Veiga said that the date could be October, but I suggested the [words indistinct].

The idea of other meetings already existed: that of the women, the journalists, the broad [amplia] meeting. And I said: Look, Veiga, in my opinion October is too late, even if we are bogged down with tremendous work, with the commitments and tasks involved -- I want you to know that the meetings were all organized in less than 4 weeks. [applause]

This could not have been done under any other circumstances; they were circumstances of a veritable crisis. And facts are demonstrating how easily and how quickly the subjective factors can develop amid a crisis, if we work. Now if we are going to let spontaneity occur, burst, and explode, then nobody knows what will happen or how it will happen. But I think that men can largely influence historic events and independence processes, depending on the clarity with which they view a situation and the intelligence with which they act. This does not escape you, it does not escape intellectuals. I have talked to many, I have talked to doctors. Recently there was a meeting here attended by more than 1,500 Latin American doctors. And many of them were from private clinics, but I see how they think, because they are also seeing children die. They know how they die and how many cents it costs to save a life, and they do not have even those cents. One has to work with the doctors, with the teachers, with the professionals, in general those sectors that have... [changes thought] There may be one at the service of imperialism, but a large part of those sectors are sensitive to the tragedy that they are enduring. Then I think that man can influence developments, independently of how he interprets them, through the policy that he follows. Those of us who have been witnessing these meetings these days have reason to be optimistic about the possibility of advancing rapidly in the creation of subjective commissions, first of all for this struggle. I believe that these objective [as heard] commissions will also contribute to giving an impetus to social changes one way or another.

But I do not think we should lift that banner. It may be contradictory, but we, at least I, cannot lift that banner, because I would be doing something that would contradict the idea of expanding and joining forces to wage this struggle, which in my opinion is the fundamental one at this moment. It will create conditions for independence, conditions so that social changes can occur, so that they will stop trampling on us with their elephant feet, wanting to annihilate us. Then the subjective factors are delayed. I think this very same crisis will accelerate the development of these subjective factors. I believe that a Bolivian wanted to ask a question. Let him ask a question if he wants.

[Unidentified questioner Companero Commander Fidel Castro, Companero Roberto Veiga, companeros all. On behalf of the Bolivian Labor Federation [COB], we want to express our appreciation to all the Latin American and Caribbean workers for the support and solidarity given to us in this final document. I would take too long to analyze in detail the history of what we have in relation to mobilizations to acquire a concrete position. We Bolivians know that we must not pay the foreign debt, and are taking specific steps to establish this position on the part of the government. I want to draw attention to some commentaries made at the international press level regarding a link between the problem of drug trafficking and those who promote it and how imperialism uses this activity to intervene directly in military operations in the field of our economy, in the field where the coca is cultivated. This is like an anecdote for comment, it is not a question. On one occasion, in military operations carried out in the tropical region of our country, they were searching for a famous drug trafficker named Roberto Suarez. This drug trafficker made the following proposal: He said he was willing to turn himself over to the Yankees on the condition that they cancel the foreign debt. He made that proposal, but the offer was not accepted. What drew our attention later was that the international press indicated that Cuba served as a bridge to promote drug trafficking. We would like a comment from the companero commander about this.

[Castro] About Cuba, about Suarez...

[Questioner, interrupting] No, no.

[Castro] ...About Bolivia, which one specifically?

[Questioner] About the drug trafficking problem and its incidence in these economies, not only the Bolivian. And there could be other realities as well.

[Castro] You cannot imagine with what spiritual serenity we laugh at this type of interpretation, which is made about Cuba for a reason. And a book will come out on this. There was something that came out in PLAYBOY, but I did not say it completely. I did not tell him [not further identified] that he was a devil of a liar. As a norm, as a cynic, he uses lies as a political instrument. There is no country with a history like Cuba.

I am referring to Cuba's traditional policy toward this problem. I remember when we started the war up on the Sierra Maestra. We had been there many months, over a year perhaps [words indistinct]. All the people used to help, there were many: couriers, scouts; some used to infiltrate the Army and run all over the place, running merchandise, taking things. However, we were unaware that many of those people grew marijuana and dealt in it -- some people, not all of them. We were unaware that a bunch of beautiful plants that looked like coffee shade bushes were marijuana plants. We passed by full hectares planted with marijuana dozens of times and never knew what it was. Imagine! Such cunning on the part of the peasants. They never said a word.

However, they did not use the drug. The marijuana yielded more than the coffee. And many took it, deceiving the police. This was about 6 months before. This was after Batista's last offensive. Then one day a companero took a double take, and we realized there were fields there and that several of our collaborators ran those fields. At that time trade was sluggish, the war had paralyzed everything. And the companero tells me, proposed -- because they had a civil affairs office -- that strict measures be adopted against those companeros who were involved in this while cooperating with us. We did not know [chuckles] those fields were marijuana fields, and there were lots of them, we found a lot of it. And I told the companero: No way! Don't suggest we take repressive measures against the people who plant marijuana in the middle of a war! Let's wait until the war is over and when it is we'll adopt the necessary measures to destroy all the marijuana fields and prevent the traffic and consumption of marijuana in the country. That's how it was done. When the war was over we persuaded many of those people to get rid of the fields. The situation had changed, they became landowners, they obtained credit, their living standards improved, and they had all kinds of possibilities open to them.

In this way, in Cuba, where marijuana was used, where there were gambling houses, cocaine use -- though less than the extent to which it is used in the United States and other places today... [changes thought] When we were students, we used to hear that such and such a politician and such and such a senator used it. Even the president of the republic was charged with cocaine snorting. [laughter] This was commented on a great deal and it may have been true. However, I remember students did not do it. I never heard of a case among the 15,000 students I knew between 1945 and 1950.

When the revolution began with the spirit of moralization that all revolutions have, we eliminated marijuana growing without hurting any peasants. Drug trafficking in Cuba was eliminated easily. To the best of my knowledge, besides the small quantities purchased through an international organization for use by the pharmaceutical industry, not even a gram of drugs has entered this country in all these years of revolution. I don't know of a single case of cocaine use in all these years of revolution, and I believe I am relatively well informed of what goes on in this country. Not a single case of corruption, not a single case of drugs, not one corrupt official or policeman, not a penny's worth of drug money has entered this country!

On the contrary, on account of the moralization, and because the coasts through which spies and everybody's neighbor came through were constantly watched, every vessel caught with marijuana... seized! No cocaine came in, because there are more sophisticated ways to transport it. Nonetheless, we have seized 500 kgs of cocaine through the years.

We have confiscated tons of marijuana. From who? From a plane that had no choice but to land, a vessel that ran aground. We have the statistics on this. They have been distributed to some of you so that you can read them. The total is approximately 300 people who have been arrested and sanctioned -- most of them Americans -- more than 50 aircraft, dozens of vessels have been confiscated. We have an impeccable record regarding the people who have come here. We have done this without any obligation -- we had absolutely no obligation, we did it out of respect for our country, to protect Cuba's image, on principle. Those who blocked us... we had the moral right to counter the criminal blockade they maintain against us, blocking even medicine sales, by planting excellent marijuana fields with irrigation and fertilization. It would have been the best in the world! [laughter] We know about agriculture, and we could have done it, but we never thought of doing it. We could have planted tropical cocaine -- there are species and varieties of cocaine that grow splendidly in the tropics -- and we never thought of doing it. I believe we would have had the moral right to do it to counter a country that was attacking, threatening, and blockading us. However, we never considered dealing in drugs or other things.

There was the lottery. It was a source of revenue, and I was dying to eliminate it. However, during the first few months of the revolution there were thousands of people who lived off the lottery and had no other jobs. Then we converted the lottery from a raffle for money into a savings and housing institute. The money was collected, homes were built, and after a certain number of years, the person got his money back. The state declared a loss on this business, but we gradually changed the lottery until we eliminated it. We closed down all the casinos. However, during the 1 and 1/2 or 2 years the lottery continued operating, we received a bunch of offers from Yankee mafiosi who offered us -- the revolution, not us -- millions of dollars per month. We could have used that money to help the revolution, buy medicines, or many other things. However, we never accepted that. What did they ask? That we tell them in advance the lottery number that was going to win. All the U.S. mafia knew the Cuban lottery was honest after the revolutionary triumph and that the number was really drawn scientifically and based on chance. They told us they didn't want us to cheat, just to pick the lottery number 1 week in advance and let them know. They offered millions of dollars during the most difficult days of the revolution -- really hard times -- and we never found moral pretexts to accept that money. We stood firm. That is the policy we have upheld during 26 years.

The campaigns to discredit Cuba are the most evident proof of those people's lack of principle. They cannot affirm that a penny has entered this country in 26 years, nor can they affirm that any official has been corrupt or bribed to participate in businesses like these. That is the historical, concrete truth. I would not lie to you or to the people. That people know this. We had reasons to adopt measures like that, but we were wise enough not to do it. I believe imperialism would have taken great advantage of that. It would have said what it in fact says: that we want to poison the U.S. youth. What other country can say that? Can the United States make such a claim? They have marijuana planted in 48 of their 50 states. They plant marijuana in nurseries, greenhouses, all over the place. Marijuana does not come from Latin America or Jamaica any more because the United States is growing practically all of it.

Something else: As I was telling a newsman, cocaine is going to end up being produced synthetically. Not long ago someone, a reporter, a U.S. reporter told me that cocaine has already been produced synthetically. They are going to do like they did with rubber and vanilla and copper wire and optic fiber. This will end production. I was even told the synthetic cocaine that was produced was so strong that some guys used it and four or five of them died. It was approximately six times stronger than the one that comes out of there.

This did not surprise me. After all, when Fleming invented penicillin it was obtained from a fungus growth. Now penicillin is produced better and purer synthetically than the one that came from fungi growths. They are going to end up producing pure cocaine. They have the chemicals and resources to produce it and they will. The system is incapable of prohibiting marijuana or coca.

This has an in-depth aspect: Drug trafficking was invented by the United States, by imperialism, by consumer societies, with the money they steal from us. They invest part of it in arms and another part in drugs. They created a market for it, the infrastructure for drugs. The entire machinery -- in the planes, the ships, the dealers -- they are all Yankees. The whole setup is run by Yankees. They are incapable of getting rid of marijuana in the United States and they are so arrogant as to demand that the Latin American countries allow they send policemen to destroy the marijuana and even the coca plantations the peasants have traditionally maintained.

Now then, in my opinion -- and I have meditated about this -- the Latin American countries have not had a correct attitude about this problem. Why? Because the network created by them became a source of foreign currency for a few Latin American countries, which received more invisible foreign currency that way than through their own exports. I do not want to mention names, but you know which ones they are; and you know how much there is in each country, including Bolivia. I have information, exact figures, of how much entered through that invisible way, how much stayed in the country, and how much was taken out. There are many specialists there who know about the problem.

Millions of persons have created a market which represents the livelihood of millions; it is not just a source of foreign currency. With this mania and this arrogance, they are only worsening the economic problem of a few countries. They are creating social problems for a few countries because millions of people, and I know of cases -- I do not want to mention names because I do not want to mention countries -- where there was a valley in which corn was historically planted and suddenly the only things planted there are poppies to produce another kind of drug. I did not know that the poppies could grow there, to produce heroin. Gentlemen, how much does a peasant earn cultivating a hectare? Well, if he cultivates a few square meters of poppies he will earn ten times more.

They have corrupted everything and turned drug trafficking into the livelihood of millions of peasant families. So, if this is a reality, if they are the culprits, if the responsibility is theirs, what should have been the Latin American countries' attitude? That is what I told a journalist who asked about this problem. I told him: You have created all this and if you say, well we have this vice and are plagued by corruption, so help us, and morally appeal to us to help you, it is correct. We are morally ready to help you. However, you [changes thought] no, the problem cannot be solved by sending chemical products and fumigants, training policemen, or sending weapons. Instead, you should say: This situation has arisen because of you; there are millions of people living off of this. Then the reply would be: We are ready to help you, but you have to pay a compensation of billions of dollars every year, for 8, 10, or 15 years to develop a different economy for all these families and prevent the countries' problems from worsening. I think that the correct thing to do would have been to present an economic claim for damages instead of asking them to solve a problem which they created by sending ammunition, fumigants, or starving the peasants to death. Consequently, I sincerely think that we have not had enough dignity to appropriately demand a solution to this drug trafficking problem as a service to the U.S. people. [applause]

[Veiga] Companeros, there may be other questions but we think this is enough. We have been here a few hours. I think we should thank Companero Fidel. [applause]

[Castro] I will not make a speech, companeros, only a few words to tell you that I have tried to answer your questions. I may have extended myself on occasions because I indistinctly thought it was convenient to extend myself on certain topics, to clarify some things. I think we have been working many hours. We are all a bit tired. I simply want to tell you, as a farewell -- even though I know some of you will join us during the next days because there will be a representation at the meeting on the 30th -- that your presence in our country has been a great honor for us. It has been a great encouragement. I also wanted to express our thanks. You might say, you have said many times that you are grateful for the attentions bestowed by our people and all the companeros. Excuse me, but we should be the ones to assert our gratitude to you because you defied the slander, lies, intrigue, and pressures, and came to Cuba.

Thanks to your attitude, it was possible to develop this conference. I have heard it word by word, hour by hour, minute by minute, second by second, and I have been extraordinarily impressed. It has given me, like I told you, a clear idea of our workers' talent. I have heard vivid forms of expression and direct messages as I have never heard before, as far as I can remember, in my life. I believe, I am fully convinced that this effort will become a historical effort. I have sometimes been accused of being an optimist. Some companeros remember when we met for the first time, and we were seven guerrilla members carrying rifles, and when we first arrived where we had to arrive. I told them: We have won the war. We were only seven men. Some companeros said that out of respect for me, they said nothing, but [laughs] they disagreed. They thought it was strange for me to say this. Anyway, time went by and we won the war. So, do not be afraid to be optimistic. Life has shown me that we must not be afraid to be optimistic. I do not think I am being optimistic when I say and assert by conviction that this conference will become a historical event in the future, for our people, our continent, and the Third World.

I told you that I know this continent, this region of the world can become free and lead the struggle. Today, we are also fully convinced that the workers will also be leaders of this struggle between the different levels and sectors of the population. They will be the vanguard of this struggle. We think that this is very encouraging because we have been thinking about all these problems for years, for months. We now see that the possibilities of achieving some progress or victory become a reality.

I think there is an essential principle and I will refer to it before bidding you farewell. An essential principle has existed since Roman times: Divide to conquer. That has always been the tactic used by every empire. That is why they are trying to divide our peoples, one from the other. They are trying to divide the people and, furthermore, they are trying to divide the workers by all possible means. Then, if the imperialist goal or principle is to divide in order to reign, the workers' principle should be unite to win. [applause] I thank you wholeheartedly for the honor that your presence has bestowed on our country, for the trust that you have shown.

You spoke from this podium and, to conclude, you said: Join me in saying this. And I ask you to join me in repeating a slogan that has been the slogan throughout 26 years of revolution. However, we will not be thinking about Cuba, we will be thinking about each and every one of your people, your homelands, our region, our peoples, in so many things that the Latin American and Caribbean people have in common.

Fatherland or death, we will win! [applause]

DOMINICA

DOUGLAS LEAVES FOR CUBA DEBT CONFERENCE

FL292204 Bridgetown CANA in English 1525 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Roseau, Dominica, July 29, CANA -- The leader of the opposition Dominica Labour Party (DLP), Michael Douglas, left here today for Cuba. The party said he would attend an international conference dealing with the debt problems of the Caribbean and Latin America. The conference, starting July 31, is expected to be attended by more than 300 delegates representing trade unions, political parties, and governments from Latin America and the Caribbean. The DLP said that the four-day meeting would serve to highlight the coincidence of the severe debt problem of the region between the entrepreneur and the worker. Douglas is due back here on August 7.

GUADELOUPE

CALM RETURNS AFTER 3-DAY 'TURMOIL' BY SEPARATISTS

AU281549 Paris AFP in English 1533 GMT 28 Jul 85

[Text] Paris, July 28 (AFP) -- An uneasy calm settled over the French Caribbean island of Guadeloupe today after three days of turmoil at the call of separatists demanding that a pro-independence leader imprisoned here be freed tomorrow. Roadblocks set up by the separatists to isolate the island capital of Pointe-a-Pitre Thursday and Friday were practically all lifted, and police reported only three or four barricades yesterday. Clashes between police and demonstrators, who are protesting the three-year jail sentence of independence leader Georges Faisans, died out 24 hours ago, police in Guadeloupe said today.

The main independence movement, the Union for the Popular Liberation of Guadeloupe, has warned that if a local appeals court in Guadeloupe did not free Mr Faisans tomorrow, "action will resume immediately." Mr Faisans, 49, leader of the island's second-largest separatist organization, the Popular Movement for Independent Guadeloupe, was sentenced there early this month for wounding a teacher with a cutlass, reportedly after the teacher insulted a black student. He began a hunger strike 55 days ago and has been moved to a hospital at Fresnes Prison near Paris.

The French secretary of state for overseas territories, Georges Lemoine, and several other French political leaders have expressed hope that judges acquiesce to the appeal for Mr Faisans' release. Indepndence leaders have stressed that this is the only aim of the demonstrations, which apparently got out of their control and degenerated into looting and rampage. A rightist government official on the island said the protests were closer to the social turmoil spawned by the student protests in Paris in 1968 than to the bloody intercommunal violence in the French Pacific territory of New Caledonia, where separatists are pressing for independence.

Faisans Released

FL292330 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2242 GMT 29 Jul 85

[By Roberto Vizcaino]

[Text] Paris, 29 Jul (NOTIMEX) -- The French authorities have ordered conditional freedom for Guadeloupe independence leader Georges Faisans because his imprisonment provoked a wave of violence last weekend.

Faisans, sentenced to serve 3 years in the Fresnes Prison, located south of Paris, is the principal independence leader of the French overseas territory of Guadeloupe, which is a strategic area for the launching of the European "Eureka" space project. Faisans, arrested for having attacked a black student [as received] for making a racist pronouncement, went on a hunger strike on 3 July, demanding immediate freedom. His arrest also was the cause of violence on the Caribbean island, for which reason an official of the capital of Guadeloupe recommended conditional freedom for Faisans in order to keep him from being considered a martyr. In freeing Faisans, the French Government authorities are attempting to halt the independence movement on Guadeloupe, at least momentarily. Nevertheless, it is believed the respite will last only a short time because the freeing of Faisans will reinforce the struggle for independence.

HAITI

DUVALIER WINS 'POLITICAL STRUCTURE' REFERENDUM

PA262055 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1836 GMT 26 Jul 85

[Text] Port au Prince, 26 Jul (DPA) -- Jean-Claude Duvalier, lifetime president of Haiti, was declared winner of the 22 July referendum for a new political structure in Haiti, according to the official results announced by the government, which noted that 99.93 percent of the votes were "yes." The government reported that of the total population of 5,053,792, 2,624,000 voted on Monday and of these 2,375,001 voted yes. The no votes, which were equivalent to 0.02 percent of the total votes, were cast by 448 persons, the government said. Jean-Marie Chanoine, minister of state for the presidency, information and public relations, said last night on television that the opposition has two choices: to leave or support the Haitian Government. Haitian Foreign Affairs and Worship Minister Jean Robert Estime reported that the foreign partners of Haiti -- the United States, France, Canada, and the FRG -- will support the Haitian regime and will continue to do so according to the principle of nonintervention.

Meanwhile, the government newspaper LE NOUVEAU MONDE announced that three Belgian priests have been expelled from Haiti. One of them, Father Hugo Triest, was director of the powerful Radio Soleil, a Catholic radio station. Before the referendum Radio Soleil attempted to inform listeners on how to vote. The other Belgians are Jean Hotems, administrator of the Montrouis Parish, and Ivan Pollefeyt, administrator of the parish of the Isle of Gonave, inhabited by fishermen. The three have been accused of violating the immigration laws.

JAMAICA

SEAGA SENDS CONGRATULATIONS TO PERU'S GARCIA

FL292202 Bridgetown CANA in English 1654 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, July 29, CANA -- Prime Minister Edward Seaga sent a congratulatory message to Peruvian President Alan Garcia Perez on the occasion of his inauguration yesterday -- Peru's National Day. The message read:

The government and people of Jamaica join me in extending sincere congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of Peru. Please accept our best wishes for a successful term of office and for increased prosperity and development of your country.

Perez won the general elections on April 14. It is traditional for the inauguration to take place on that country's national day. Jamaica's main opposition People's National Party (PNP) sent two representatives to Lima for the inauguration. They were Vice-President Seymour Mulings and honorary member of the party's executive, Dudley Thompson.